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Must We Fight in Indo-China?

New Republic

The Political Season Opens

Illinois — "Mr. Retail" Against Paul Douglas

By Richard Lewis

Massachusetts — Saltonstall Faces a Fight

By John Mallan

By Henry A. Wallace

Why Flexible Price Supports Will Best Serve American Farmers

APR 29 1954

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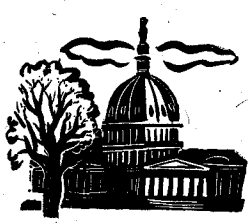
Washington Wire T. R. B.

Cabling the *Baltimore Sun*, correspondent Russell Baker says London papers are giving "a picture of political squalor" in McCarthy-Army coverage. Nor can he wholly blame the London press for what he describes as "a solid year [of] an ugly, distorted picture of a colossal nation whose day-to-day existence is a kaleidoscope of fear, suspicion, hysteria, uncertainty and frequently repression and terror."

How distorted is this picture? America is now following the nightmare McCarthy-Army battle; could this incident be imagined elsewhere? The US press is rejoicing at the "fairness" of the proceeding—an indication of our unconsciously lost standards. It is true there is a lull in Gestapo browbeating of defenseless witnesses by McCarthy; he is unable to tell generals to their face that they are "unfit to wear the uniform"; he must raise a "point of order" from the sideline to charge before every TV camera in the country that Major General Reber's brother was fired as a security risk (a false accusation). Can this present US hearing be a definitive finding, in the Royal Commission sense? Of course not. The group is McCarthy's own Subcommittee; there are four ultra-conservative Republicans to three Democrats — each Republican as much on trial as McCarthy. They have picked for counsel a Taft-Republican, Ray Jenkins, who may be well-intentioned but thinks the McCarthy Fort Monmouth inquiry fiasco really uncovered espionage. The only reason the hearings are being held, it should be recalled, is that McCarthy stopped smearing Democrats and began smearing Eisenhower officials. Otherwise the White House would still be appeasing McCarthy. The procedure is trial by publicity. The real verdict is given minute-by-minute by the TV-radio audience irrespective of any judicial subcommittee report—if one is finally made. McCarthy can intervene at will, obfuscate issues, smear opponents, use Congressional immunity, bar or delay damning monitored telephone evidence, inject his own version of every incident. Above all, he gets the last word, for he will start to cross-examine when direct Army evidence ends. McCarthy dominates the screen. McCarthy is not on trial . . . he is on exhibition. It is true, for the moment, he is in a tough spot; he is on the defensive. But how long will this last? He swims through the affable ineptitudes of timid Chairman Mundt like a fish between the piers of a dock.



Everywhere Dr. Robert Oppenheimer goes now he is followed by silent FBI guards. They watch his every movement. Presumably they report every thermonuclear equation he utters. There seems to be a feeling abroad that it's too bad we didn't have today's tight security proceedings in Truman's day. Well, if so, Oppenheimer wouldn't have been allowed to invent the A-bomb. He would have been ruled out. Who knows what handicap this ball-and-chain procedure already exerts? We can't see an end to this—this isn't simple nightmare, it is delirium. If Oppenheimer is cleared, well, that is unfair to hundreds of lesser figures ruined by slighter evidence; and McCarthy certainly won't accept any clearance. On the other hand—if he is found a "security risk", then what fate befalls the half dozen national leaders who previously cleared him; there may be something like a strike of already-smouldering scientists. Furthermore the US loses the services of a foremost nuclear physicist just at a time when Soviet science is narrowing America's lead. Defense Secretary Wilson has already reconciled himself to this—he says he won't have Oppenheimer back now, anyway. Wilson is a practical businessman, and at General Motors they don't see the need of atomic physicists. What do you do with Oppenheimer as a "security risk"? As Ernest Lindley says in *Newsweek* about the only thing to do is to shoot him.

Army Secretary Stevens, describing Roy Cohn's rage at being omitted from a Fort Monmouth inspection trip given to Senators, quoted him as declaring, "This means war. . . . I have access to FBI files when I want them." Again and again men like Sen. William Fulbright (D, Ark.) have charged the McCarthy committee apparently had access to FBI files at will. This would appear to be a direct link between America's secret police and the McCarthy Gestapo; the most dangerous threat to US civil liberties in a lifetime. Addressing the DAR last week FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover did not comment on the Cohn statement. He merely said that everyone who has dared to speak out against the threat of Communism has become the target of "vile and vicious attacks."

Many hoped Ike's talk before the publishers in New York last week would clear up the scary confusion over Administration Indo-Chinese policy. Ike interrupted his golfing holiday in Georgia to fly to New York. But all he told the publishers was that "facts must be related in truthful perspective" in newspapers. What facts—whether US soldiers are to be used in Indo-China? The frightening things Mr. Nixon said "off the record?" Is it wise, asks the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, for the President to give this sort of speech when a nation, "its nerves scraped raw by H-bombs and tension, is awaiting quite a different kind?"

Incidentally, a new study of the press shows only 87 US cities now left with competing dailies (there were 117 in 1945). Monopoly obtains in the other 94 percent of US cities, Professor Nixon of the University of Minnesota finds. Chain newspapers have increased by one-third since 1945, he reports; they now have 45 percent of total daily US circulation.

The Administration hit on a neat device to get the wire-tapping bill through the House; it was re-christened the "anti-traitor" bill and everybody who opposed it inferentially favored traitors. We see a happy future for this idea to rescue the bogged-down Eisenhower legislative program. The tariff measure becomes the "anti-burglar bill"; Taft-Hartley becomes the "anti-kidnapping bill." The farm program is in real difficulties; let's call it the "anti-social promiscuity bill." There won't be five Congressmen against it.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Standin' Up?

THERE IS basis for hope that after May 3 Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas will begin to act like the Minority Leader he was elected to be 15 months ago. After that date the filings for US Senator from Texas will be closed. To date, Johnson has only one, little known, Democratic opponent, and no Republican has yet entered the race. If no formidable opposition appears at the last minute—now almost impossible with Governor Allan Shivers committed to running to succeed himself—Senator Johnson can afford to relax his 100 percent "Texas First" policy and make his bid for the 1956 Democratic ticket.

Dudley Dougherty, the one Democrat announced against Johnson, is a wealthy oilman making his first political try and conceded little chance. Jack Porter, Republican State Chairman who was generally expected to be Johnson's GOP opponent, is on a world cruise and not expected to return to Texas until the eve of the filing deadline. (Porter's interest in seeing the world at this time is thought to have been encouraged by "Lyndon Johnson Republicans," like Eisenhower's oil friend Sid Richardson.

The first step, logically, would be to improve his performance as party leader in the Senate. Many Democrats have blamed Johnson for his negativism and his refusal to take issue with the Republicans in any way that brings him personally into conflict with Eisenhower—who carried Texas in 1952. Minority Leader Johnson refused even to summon a party caucus for two months after the present session of Congress began and then permitted discussion of only one subject, unity behind the confirmation of contested Sen. Dennis Chavez of New Mexico. (A record which has revived the old nickname of "Lyin' Down" Johnson.) Actually, with the Senate divided 47 Republicans, 48 Democrats, 1 Independent, Johnson has been the *de facto* leader of the *majority*, not of the minority in the Senate, yet the only time he has exercised his power in this session, except in forcing Chavez's confirmation, was to veto an order by Majority Leader William Knowland to hold night sessions.

Johnson's desire to avoid fights with Eisenhower will continue, for he is eager to roll up a tremendous vote this year, of the proportions which Robert A. Taft polled in his re-election in 1950, to demonstrate his ability to unite Texas. But there will be many issues on which he can now lead, freed from the inhibitions of a tough campaign, without antagonizing too many Eisenhower backers in Texas. His colleagues expect to see a far more forceful Johnson calling the signals when action begins on the Administration tax bill, to see him running interference for Sen. Walter George as he pushes his plan for a $200 increase in personal income-tax exemptions, and supporting progressive Democrats who oppose the Administration plan to cut the tax on dividends from stocks. (Texans point out that so long as the tax allowance for depletion remains at a generous 27.5 percent for oil, Texans won't fret for a few more dollars income from stocks.)

Since 1952 Lyndon Johnson has been mentioned mainly as a backer of Sen. Stuart Symington of Missouri for the '56 nomination. But those who know and follow Johnson closely have no doubt of his own personal ambition beyond the Senate. If he should score the sweeping victory he is striving for in '54 in Texas and bring off a few Democratic power plays in the remaining weeks of this Congress, the Minority Leader would certainly rate magazine cover treatment as Mr. Democrat of the Year. But a Johnson complication as far as 1956 is concerned is that his Dixiecrat rival Allan Shivers, as Governor, retains control of the Texas Democratic Committee and thereby probable control of Texas' delegation to the 1956 Democratic convention. But there will be other strong Southern voices, those of Senate friends like Richard Russell of Georgia, George Smathers of Florida, or John McClellan of Arkansas to propose the name of Lyndon Johnson of Texas—for Vice-President at least.

The Press "Readjusts"

REMEMBER the "optimism campaign"—reported in the *NR*, April 12—launched by the financial press and business magazines a few weeks ago at the Administration's request and in the face of an increase of 54,000 unemployed during a month — March — which should have seen a seasonal decrease in unemployment of 200,000? It's over. The facts are too sticky; they won't blow away.

So the *Wall Street Journal* now says—April 22—"Business Upsurge Before The Fall Seems Unlikely. Time is working against the spring improvement predicted in many quarters (*sic*). March was a disappointment . . . this month's business hasn't shown any notable kick. New unemployment claims in the week ended April 10 showed a 13 percent bounce from the preceding week. . . . Some steel producers now think output won't average above 70 percent of capacity for the year. . . . 87 million tons vs. earlier predictions of 95 to 100 million. The 1953 total: 111.6 million tons."

And the *Journal of Commerce* headlined: "Recession Cue Seen in Auto Sales Decline" on the same day—April 19—that its editor, Dr. E. H. Luedicke warned business leaders that only a "second Korea" could repeat the 1949-50 recovery pattern. "We have not yet reached the peak in unemployment," said Luedicke, and "it is difficult to see any effective lift in the level of business from natural forces in the near future . . . such lift could come only either from a deterioration in the international outlook or from a determination of the Administration to reverse the business trend conclusively before the end of summer."

In the meantime, a Gallup Poll reveals that in the Middle Atlantic, New England, East Central and Far Western states "unemployment" ranks as the first concern of the voter. In the Southern States it ranks second to "civil rights, segregation," and in the West Central states, third, following "farm prices" and "water shortage."

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While You Weren't Looking

Give-away No. 2 As THE 1953 session dashed through late appropriations bills, a group of Senators met in a Capitol committee room and agreed to an extended debate and group protest against "Give-away No. 2"—the Administration's liquidation of the federal power program. They were ready to stretch the session a day or two if need be to let the Administration know that they would make a power give-away a major issue.

A week later, when the debate was supposed to start, two of the top leaders were high in the sky playing bridge with Dwight D. Eisenhower. Ike had to fly to the Pacific Northwest for a Governors' conference. He invited Washington Sens. Warren Magnuson, the designated leader of the power protest, and Henry M. Jackson, to fly out with him. They chucked their power manuscripts in a convenient corner and scrambled aboard. The group protest collapsed.

The collapse of a unified front against the Administration's power give-away has occurred early this year. In March word went out from Senatorial offices to get the ammunition ready.

The public power experts around Washington gathered together materials for more than 20 Senators. Then a meeting of the Senators was called. Six or seven attended, or sent representatives. Wayne Morse of Oregon, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and James E. Murray of Montana were ready to go, as was Olin Johnston of South Carolina, who had made his own one-man protest in 1953. But others—well, they had local fights to think about.

The Bonneville Power Administration in the Pacific Northwest is being dismantled. The best damsites in the Columbia Basin are being grabbed by the private utilities. Senators Magnuson and Jackson of Washington are concerning themselves with saving a damsite or two for their municipal and Public Utility District constituents, leaving Wayne Morse alone to carry the fight for a federal power program against a new corporation, organized by private companies in the area, to build Columbia Basin dams and acquire existing power systems.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has been refused money for new starts urgently needed to prevent power shortages in that area in 1957. TVA area Senators like Lister Hill and Estes Kefauver have concluded that an all-out blast at the Administration power policy right now might jeopardize some of the crumbs they hope will fall to the TVA from the power company banquet table.

In the Southwest, rural electric co-operatives have seen Uncle Sam default on contracts with five generating and transmission co-operatives, and on an agreement to build Table Rock dam. The power supply of REA co-ops in four states is threatened. But Bob Kerr and Mike Monroney are giving No. 1 priority to a bill to de-authorize a federal dam in Oklahoma so their state can build it. Symington of Missouri is busy with military matters and McCarthy. And Hennings of Missouri is busy designing a Missouri Basin set-up that would make Rube Goldberg dizzy.

Sen. Herbert Lehman of New York is preoccupied with saving Niagara's great power potential from the private power companies. He hopes an unfavorable Niagara bill will set off an extended debate by his colleagues. But with few REA co-ops in New York, Lehman's aides can't clearly see his role in a national, over-all power policy battle.

Meantime, New England's one, long-time proponent of public power in the Senate, Republican George Aiken of Vermont, remains silent. Friends say he won't embarrass Eisenhower on power.

The federal power programs—REA, TVA, Bonneville, Southeast, Southwest and others—totally have a great majority of the Senate behind one or another, or all, of them. But they are all being bled to death, by one Administration strategy or another, while myopic public power Senators seek to relieve the discomfort of their own pet projects and their local constituencies.

A Real Pal. Six months ago—October 26, 1953—the *New Republic* called attention to the new Administration's efforts to reinstate the idea of "business self-regulation" which Herbert Hoover had been sold by the National Association of Manufacturers back in 1921. (The idea was to be the basis of Hoover's "New Economic Era," abandoned in 1929.) A new agency established by Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks — the Business and Defense Services Administration—was described in detail because it was to be bossed almost entirely by WOC's, men working "without compensation" from the government but paid by the firm back home, and because it was obviously conceived as a business-lobby *within* the government. The BDSA is six months old now, and it's time to take another look.

The Administrator, Charles F. Honeywell, has deigned to take a government salary, but his three Assistant Administrators are WOC's, as are 11 directors of the 25 industry divisions and 17 other top officials. These men are supplied by such firms as Aluminum Company of America, US Steel, Northwestern Bell Telephone, Bridgeport Brass, Continental Can, Dow Chemical and General Electric. And they are doing a

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job—at least the *Wall Street Journal* seems to think so; one of its recent stories opens:

> Meet the businessman's good friend in the capital: A pal willing to help a firm get a government contract, to cut red tape on a federal loan, or use a bit of influence to soften a regulation. . . . These and other favors, large and small, will be performed at no cost.
>
> Sound interesting? Then jot down this phone number, Sterling 3-9200, and these initials, BDSA . . . perhaps the most intriguing addition to the federal bureaucracy since the Eisenhower Administration came to power.

"Intriguing" indeed. The *Wall Street Journal* goes on to describe BDSA's "most fascinating" activities as those "least advertised." What are they? A recent 60-page, unpublished, report prepared by the agency gives some hints.

Lumbermen decided last fall, says the report, that they had been losing out long enough on sales of grain bins to the Department of Agriculture. A word from the National Lumber Manufacturers to BDSA, from BDSA to Agriculture, and new requirements were worked out permitting wood bins to qualify. Argus Cameras, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, wanted to expand its sales in military post exchanges. BDSA put the company in touch with "the proper people" in the Defense Department. Sometimes the enthusiasm of the WOC's leads them to fight an Administration policy: The President is for freer trade, but the BDSA often goes to work for firms that want trade restraints to shut out foreign competitors.

Sometimes the BDSA is frustrated: as when the Foreign Operations Administration was considering a substantial loan to India for overhauling that country's railroad system and BDSA sought, unsuccessfully, to attach a proviso requiring the Indians to order at least $20 million of the new equipment from US manufacturers. But such failures have been rare.

"Most of the agency's energy," says the *Wall Street Journal,* "is directed to shaping government policies along lines more palatable to various businessmen." And if anyone should doubt that this is the NAM-Herbert Hoover "self-regulation" idea all over again, there is the recent statement of BDSA Administrator Honeywell himself: "We're just reactivating something our very wonderful Herbert Hoover started."

Aneurin Bevan Does It Again

A FORTNIGHT ago the Labour Party seemed set for a rapid return to public esteem. The contrast between the performances of Attlee and Churchill in the debate on the hydrogen bomb, a disappointing Budget, and above all the appearance in the Opposition of unity on a positive policy, all these combined to produce striking Labour advances in two by-elections and a new feeling of confidence among Labour supporters in Parliament and the country. Now this brief vision has been shattered. Aneurin Bevan has resigned from Labour's Shadow Cabinet to lead a national campaign against the party leadership on the whole field of foreign policy.

Ironically enough, the occasion for Bevan's latest demonstration was what seemed to most observers here a striking British victory against American impetuosity. Dulles arrived in London on April 11 with the avowed aim of persuading Britain to join the US and France in an immediate warning to China that further support to Viet-Minh would lead to united action against her. Eden did not only succeed in persuading Dulles to postpone such a warning until Asia has had a chance to learn China's attitude at the Geneva conference. He also obtained Dulles' agreement to study with Britain and other interested powers the establishment of a new collective defense organization to cover the whole of Southeast Asia. Such an organization would be indispensable if the Geneva conference led to any settlement in Indo-China: it would also supercede the limited ANZUS defense pact and provide a framework, for global planning complementary to NATO in the West.

When Eden announced this in Parliament on April 13, Attlee as leader of the Opposition received the news with evident satisfaction, but warned Eden that Labour would insist that any organization set up in the Far East should have the support of the Asian peoples themselves. Bevan then rose at the far end of the Opposition Front Bench, red as a turkey-cock, and in a voice shrill with emotion told Eden that his surrender to American pressure would be resented by the overwhelming majority of the British people. Quite apart from its relevance to foreign policy, this public insult to Attlee at the very moment when his prestige in Britain was at its height, infuriated most Labour MPs.

Next day at the weekly meeting of Labour MPs, Attlee announced on behalf of the Shadow Cabinet that Bevan's behavior was to be deplored. Bevan told the meeting that in view of this censure he would leave the Shadow Cabinet and return to the freedom of the back benches. He then left the platform and in a prepared statement to the hungry pressmen declared that he was deeply shocked at Attlee's behavior over Dulles' visit and was anxious that the Labour Party "should put itself at the head of those forces which are genuinely seeking to mediate between the two power blocs into which the world is perilously divided."

Bevan's action must now lead to the most bitter and dangerous division in the Labour Party since MacDonald joined the Conservatives in 1931. It is already clear that, as after his resignation from the Labour Government in 1951, Bevan will try to widen the field of battle against the Labour leaders so as to invoke every issue on which emotion can support him. The main line will be anti-Americanism and opposition to German rearmament, both very powerful weapons. In the early stages there is likely to be a strong ground swell in his favor. Against this is the near-unanimous feeling of all but the wholly Bevanite Labour MPs that this latest action has shown that Bevan is impossible as a colleague and would be intolerable as a leader. And it looks as if this time Attlee will be committed to the struggle against Bevan publicly and from the start. Last time Attlee treated Bevanism rather as Eisenhower treated McCarthyism — the parallel is intriguing in many ways.

Last weekend Bevan won a minor skirmish when the Co-operative Party voted two to one against its own Executive's motion to support EDC. The battle will grow in intensity throughout the summer as the Trade Unions meet for their annual conferences and the Labour Party constituencies mandate their delegates to the party's annual conference in September. My own view is that Bevan cannot win the party for his views, still less his leadership. But unless prompt and effective action is taken against him he can ruin the party's chances in the next General Election.

London DENIS HEALY, M.P.

Before election to Parliament, Denis Healy was Labour Party International Secretary.

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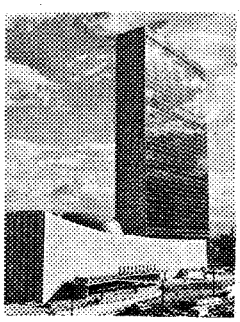
The UN Disarmament Talks

Worldwide hopes that the potentialities of H-bomb warfare might stimulate new efforts toward disarmament floundered last week as the UN haggled over the old issue of the role of Red China.

The UN Disarmament Commission has gone through the paces of setting up a subcommittee of "the powers principally involved," charged with trying in secret talks to find some way out of the eight-year stalemate. The first "secret" meeting of the subcommittee spent three hours in an inconclusive wrangle over what was to be included in the communique to the press. No communique could be agreed upon. Instead, Ambassadors Henry Cabot Lodge and Andrei Vishinsky held impromptu press conferences to give their respective versions of what had happened. Vishinsky, it became clear, wanted the communique to indicate that he was carrying into the subcommittee his fight for the addition of Red China. Lodge dubbed this a "political approach" and said it rendered the prospects of the London meetings of the subcommittee "very discouraging."

On November 28, 1953, the General Assembly adopted a disarmament resolution which was routine except for its incorporation of an Indian suggestion that private talks among "the powers principally involved" might be a better way to get disarmament out of its rut than public debate.



Two weeks later President Eisenhower told the UN the US would carry into such talks a "new conception." While the atoms-for-peace plan he presented had little to do directly with disarmament, diplomats hoped that the good-will generated in the course of implementing such a plan would have beneficial effects on the disarmament effort itself. They were encouraged when the follow-up talks between Washington and Moscow were kept in non-propagandistic channels and the Berlin communique of February 18 announced that the Big Four had agreed to hold an exchange of views in accordance with the Assembly resolution for private talks.

Then came the March 1 test at Bikini when a mammoth H-bomb showered Japanese fishermen with radioactive dust. There was worldwide shock culminating in a public clamor for a new attempt at control and prohibition. The Japanese parliament passed a unanimous resolution to this effect. In India, Prime Minister Nehru proposed a "standstill agreement" forbidding further H-bomb test explosions. Soviet leaders for the first time warned their people that a nuclear war would involve destruction of Communist and capitalist civilization alike. Tumultous scenes took place in the British Commons, and subsided only when British Foreign Secretary Eden pledged the British Government to use every influence at its command to bring about "fruitful" high-level talks with the USSR on the H-bomb.

It was against this background of public anxiety and official assurance that the Western Big Three routed the Disarmament Commission out of its slumbers to set up the private talks. Britain was eager to take the initiative, and it was Sir Pierson Dixon who presented the resolution proposing that the subcommittee consist of Britain, France, the US, the USSR and Canada, that it not be burdened with terms of reference, that it meet in London and that it report back to its parent body by July 15.

It soon became apparent, however, that whatever statesmen might say about the need, in light of the possibilities of atomic doom, for a new approach to world problems, no one was prepared to abandon old controversies. The debate over who should take part in the subcommittee sounded like a replay of last August's argument over the Korean political conference.

Vishinsky denounced Sir Pierson's conception of the "powers principally involved" as "one-sided" and proposed the addition of Red China, India and Czechoslovakia. He charged that to exclude Peiping and New Delhi was equivalent to "ignoring half of humanity," and insisted that disarmament could not be carried out without taking into account the armed forces of Red China.

When the Western powers showed no enthusiasm for his proposal, Vishinsky took to threats, warning that disregard of Soviet views might "create considerable difficulties" as regards Soviet participation.

Sir Pierson was sufficiently impressed with Vishinsky's talk about difficulties and his hints about being willing to settle for the inclusion of India to propose a half-hour recess. During this recess the representatives of Britain, France and the US concluded Vishinsky was only engaged in a propaganda maneuver directed at India. They reasoned that if he was willing to settle for India, then his talk about "difficulties," presumably with China, was phony.

They thereupon denounced Vishinsky for "thinly veiled threats" to torpedo private talks. They denied that India could be considered one of the powers "principally involved." Lodge said there was "every indication that the Government of India was not consulted on the Soviet proposal and does not wish to serve." (While India did not ask to be on the subcommittee it would not have turned down an invitation to serve and resented Lodge's speaking on its behalf.) Privately Western spokesmen confessed that they did not want India in the new group for fear she might back up Soviet Russia's demand for an unconditional ban on atomic weapons.

The West had good reason in past experience to assume that Vishinsky's oblique references to difficulties were only a form of pressure and that his hint of being willing to settle for India was only propaganda. But in view of Vishinsky's repeated requests for more time in which to consult, some observers found it hard to understand why the issue was forced to a vote. In the field of disarmament, votes settle nothing. The consent of all the powers principally concerned is essential. It was the more mystifying to see the issue pressed to a vote by the West when the only clearly foreseeable result was a further alienation of Indian opinion.

So far the debate in the Disarmament Commission suggests that politicians on both sides in the Cold War do not believe anything can be done now to halt the armaments race—but no one dares say so to a world which, as Lodge put it, faces "the prospect of being exploded into total destruction" with "dislike."

New York City JOSEPH P. LASH

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: Must We Fight in Indo-China?

THE MORTAR and iron fortress of Dien Bien Phu was crumbling when the great powers gathered at Geneva. In its place the United States tried first to hoist a canvas fortress onto the Geneva stage.

Fictions are dangerous in dealing with strong opponents; and never has the Communist side been as strong as it is at Geneva. Mr. Dulles none the less presented his fiction, in the form of a prepared statement outlining the US position. It began by dismissing the Communist assault on Dien Bien Phu as a futile political maneuver. "The courageous forces of the French union," Mr. Dulles held, "are at this very moment suffering cruelly because ambitious rulers seek to extract some profit which they can use at this Geneva conference."

Perish that thought! On the contrary, Mr. Dulles asserted, it was the West which had come to Geneva to impose its terms on the Communist side! He said:

"We came to Geneva on a mission of peace made necessary by Communist aggression in Asia. . . . We hope to find that the aggressors came here in a mood to purge themselves of their aggression and that it will thus be possible to achieve a durable peace. . . ."

No statement in recent years by a spokesman for the United States bears less relation to military or political realities than this one which places the whole responsibility for the war and the whole burden of concessions on the Communist side.

But no fiction lasts for long, and Mr. Dulles' definition of the US position at Geneva showed signs of collapsing even as the conference opened. It was built on illusions which Mr. Dulles should have known were illusions. First among them was the belief that the Indo-China war could be fitted into our native folklore of Communism and anti-Communism.

Terrible excesses of cruelty have been committed by the Viet-Minh forces. And yet William Ryan of the Associated Press, just out of Indo-China, reports:

"No matter what is said about Ho Chi Minh, the French and Viet-Namese cannot dodge the fact that he is looked upon by a large section of the masses as the country's savior, a man who will drive out the foreigner, a man who stands for Viet-Namese nationalism."

The second illusion endorsed by the Eisenhower Administration was the belief that the French and such Viet-Namese troops as they were prepared to train were capable of gaining a military decision. That decision became illusory in 1950 when the Chinese Communists reached the Northern borders of Indo-China; from then on military victory passed beyond the reach of France. Yet our Pacific Commander, Admiral Arthur Radford, endorsed the successive and illusory French claims of ultimate victory. With Admiral Radford's elevation to Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, his over-emphasis of the area and his over-confidence in the French were built into the center of US strategy.

As the first two illusions fell apart, a third arose within the Eisenhower Administration—that the United States could, by threats and bluffs, redress the military balance in Indo-China.

This year the United States is providing $800 million in weapons and ammunition for Indo-China and yet the military balance is turning steadily in favor of the Communist side. The reason, beyond all other failings, was stated plainly by Mr. Dulles on March 17:

"With the Soviet-Chinese Communist world, with its 800 million people occupying a central location and its vast land armies, it would be utterly impossible to have local defenses all around that 20,000 mile orbit sufficient to stop any blow that might come wherever they might choose. . . ."

The logic of this sound analysis might lead to the conclusion that in Indo-China, as in East Germany and North Korea, the frontiers of the Communist and non-Communist worlds must be set by agreement in places where the local strength of the Communists make it impracticable to drive them back by force of arms. Instead Mr. Dulles proposed to counter local Communist military superiority with general capacity of the United States to devastate the Soviet homeland in atomic war. Once before, in Korea, he had threatened an extension of the war, and disagreeing with many experts, he believed that it was this threat that led the Chinese to conclude an armistice at Panmunjom. Reaffirming his belief that "risks are necessary for peace," he took the risk of apparently preparing the US for involvement in the Indo-China war.

Thus the United States and the world was treated to one of the most baffling successions of statements ever issued by our government. President Eisenhower stated on February 10 that no one could be more bitterly opposed than he to involvement in Indo-China. Then he fell silent. Secretary Dulles called for "united action" on March 29, failing to define "united," but implying that "action" meant troops. Next the Vice President who had denounced on March 15 the Russian plan "to destroy us by drawing us into little wars all over the world with their satellites," affirmed three weeks later that the US may soon be drawn into the little war of Indo-China.

To paraphrase the Duke of Wellington, whether or not this talk frightened the enemy, it certainly frightened our side. The British and the Asians saw in this threat a repetition of our action in crossing the 38th Parallel in Korea. They understood that while China

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might tolerate French forces in Indo-China, she would most certainly intervene to block the advance of American troops to her Southern frontier. Our allies understood further that with Americans fighting again on the mainland of Asia, the pressure to counter Chinese superiority in manpower with nuclear weapons would soon become irresistible. They reasoned that the US would unload atomic bombs and concluded this time nothing could halt the drift to world war.

This is the reaction reported by Philip Dean, veteran of two years in a North Korean prison camp, to the *London Observer*. From Colombo, Dean reported on April 24 that Mr. Dulles' plan had "infuriated the statesmen, diplomats and editors of this area and alarmed them too, because they see all their efforts to avoid involvement nullified."

So the British and the Asian nations have refused to join military action to hold Indo-China for the French. The French in turn have continued to petition the Communists for a negotiated peace. Mr. Dulles' threats were intended to lift the pressures upon France and to induce the French to make no important concessions in negotiation. But the Chinese have ignored Mr. Dulles and the French have called our bluff by demanding on the eve of the Geneva conference the outright participation of our planes in the Indo-China war. This course the President has rejected; the Dulles policy lies in ruins.

The Communists do not come to Geneva as aggressors seeking to "purge themselves of their aggression." On the contrary their military position is so strong that it makes negotiation itself all but superfluous. Their political position corresponds further to their military strength. In the past it was the United States that stood for the self-determination of peoples as expressed in plebiscites and the end of foreign intervention in the affairs of small nations. Today it is the Communists who may press these principles and we who are compelled to deny them.

Military reality favors the Communists in Indo-China. Other free nations are not prepared to alter the military reality and we cannot afford to alter it alone. So we must seek a settlement or accept a surrender. The only settlement we are likely to achieve is one which reflects the balance of military power. This in turn would require concessions within Indo-China that would leave in doubt the viability of the French-sponsored states. Is there any other currency then which we are prepared to offer and the Communists to accept? The Chinese Communists will ask for recognition of their status as a great power and a permanent regime. Are we ready to concede this status or able to prevent others from conceding it? The temptation for Mr. Dulles is once again to threaten the extension of the war in Indo-China and thus to make the Chinese yield through fear the concessions that otherwise would require something in return. The perils in that course have already strained the coalition of free nations and may bring it to the breaking point.

Obviously in our present weakness some risks are unavoidable. If the risks of war are to be controlled in a different order of risk, a risk of political conflict here at home may be necessary for Mr. Dulles who holds that "it is necessary to take risks to win peace just as it is necessary in war to take risks to win victory."

The risks that are necessary and proper for the free world to assume begin with a cease-fire agreement that retains as much of Indo-China as the non-Communist forces there are able and willing to defend.

The French Government has considered a cease-fire along the present nominal lines. But these lines do not begin to conform to the true military situation. Of the 500,000 French Union troops, 300,000 are engaged in police action behind their own lines.

IN CONTRAST a cease-fire line along the 16th Parallel has been proposed as a method of achieving a rough equality on both sides. It would grant the rice of the Red River Delta, the coal mines and cities of the coast and the Tonkinese people to the Communist side. At the same time it would keep in non-Communist hands more than can be kept by fighting today. Some such line is supported by the British and the Asian nations. It may as a part of a general lowering of tensions be acceptable to the Russians and the Chinese. It has been unacceptable to Mr. Dulles, but he will if he is wise set out to build upon the source of the strength that he now possesses.

There are still factors favorable for a modest proposal. The Communists may seek years of stability in order to consolidate their power. They must understand that the United States is involved in Southeast Asia and cannot easily see the area lost. The United States in turn has learned in recent weeks that its own unspoken resistance to the involvement of American troops on the mainland of Asia is as powerful as its vocal insistence that somebody hold the Southeast Asian line. So Mr. Dulles is free to negotiate as Secretary Acheson was not.

In the enforcement of a cease-fire agreement Mr. Dulles can turn to a new force. At Colombo the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia are also considering the problem of peace in Southeast Asia. Their purpose, according to Mr. Dean, is to prepare a plan "to keep Southeast Asia for the Southeast Asians, denying the area to the Communists and above all to the Americans." This attitude is greeted with derisive howls on Capitol Hill and demands for punishment in the form of reduced American aid. That is in keeping with our fourth and final illusion—that we can dispose of the fate of Asia without reference to the views of the people concerned. On the contrary the emergence of regional consciousness and responsibility can aid the non-Communist cause. The Asian nations may lack the present strength to shape a peace settlement in Indo-China, but they can most certainly assist in enforcing one shaped at Geneva. Their action can carry them toward the objectives set by President Eisenhower when he said (or meant to say) that Asians alone can hold Asia for the free world.

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"The Shift to Reality Must Be Made"

The founder of New Deal farm policies holds that only by flexible price supports can the Ever-Normal Granary be saved.

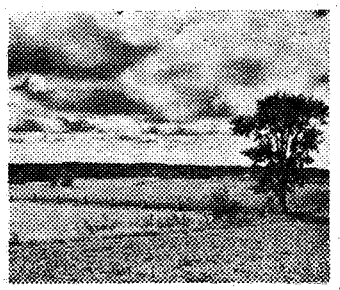
by Henry A. Wallace

THE FARM PROGRAM today is like a small tractor which has only enough horse power to pull one plow. With the situation as it is today there is no likelihood whatsoever that any Administration will or can give the farmers a really high-powered farm program. The all-important thing is that the farmer and his friends should not destroy the really splendid features of the farm program as it was evolved during the thirties. I am referring in particular to the Ever-Normal Granary, the making of soil-building acres out of soil-depleting acres, and the use of surpluses to solve human needs both at home and abroad. Believing as I do that the Ever-Normal Granary and the soil-conservation programs were acts of sound statesmanship, I cannot easily contemplate their destruction. I believe that in the long run, and above all in the case of corn, the Ever-Normal Granary program can be sustained only by a flexible-support price system.

I have no interest in partisan politics. I am not supporting or criticizing the approach of any party. But I am enormously interested in seeing that the farmers use their land, their efforts and their dollars to produce the most for themselves and the world of those things which the world most needs. My greatest fear is that the farmers themselves may destroy the farm legislative machinery by asking it to do work for which it was never designed. It would be a great disaster if the Ever-Normal Granary were converted into an *abnormal* granary by loans completely out of line with the weather and the market. Yet this may come about, under the spell of one word—"parity." Useful as the word "parity" was in the early thirties when farm products were far below parity I have never believed that governmental power could be used for long in time of peace and normal weather to insure prices at 100 percent or 90 percent or even 85 percent of parity. With wages at present levels, it may be that as a matter of abstract justice the farmer should and could get 100 percent of parity without any injustice being done to the working man. But with the new techniques as they are and the foreign demand for our surplus as it is going to be (barring war and bad weather)

Where Are We Now?

At 100 percent of parity the farmer could buy a plow today with the same amount of corn it would have cost him in 1910-14. The Agricultural Act of 1949 re-established the 90-percent-of-parity guarantee given farmers during World War II to stimulate production of six basic crops.



As a result of the act, the US Government now owns or has under mortgage over $6 billion worth of agricultural products:

Wheat—427 million bushels stored, 476 million under loan.

Corn—472 million bushels stored, 373 million under loan.

Cotton—235,000 bales stored, eight million under loan.

Dairy products (butter, cheese and dried milk)—1.3 billion pounds stored.

These commodities are still being produced faster than they are consumed; that and the increasing cost of storing them as the surplus grows has caused the Administration to propose a flexible price-support program. But this is an election year, as Congress, now debating an extension of the rigid 90-percent-of-parity formula, well knows.

In this article, former Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace—who originated the present Soil Conservation Program, and the Ever-Normal Granary Policy to secure the nation's food supply and the farmer's income against prolonged drought, war or other disasters—examines the probable consequences of continued rigid price-supports. He concludes that it is impossible in time of peace and normal weather to support prices at the present rigid, high level much longer without destroying the essential features of the farm program.

Next week, Dr. Clyde Mitchell, chairman of the Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska, will present his views on this subject and examine Mr. Wallace's arguments.

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there is every reason to expect the farmers to engage in such extreme competition among themselves as to break down any high level support program.

I realize, of course, that one cannot afford to be dogmatic unless he is a day-by-day and year-by-year expert in corn, wheat and cotton. Acreage controls may possibly reduce cotton production sufficiently to sustain a loan at 90 percent of parity over the years. Certainly it has in the main been a good thing for Southern farmers and Southern soil that in the last quarter of a century the cotton acreage has been cut in two and the yield per acre has been almost doubled. But in the case of corn the situation is altogether different. I rather doubt the possibility of reducing the acreage sufficiently to support a 90-percent loan year after year unless the weather is quite bad. With good weather and no new war, a 90-percent corn loan will soon build up utterly fantastic supplies and endanger the whole system of commodity loans and the Ever-Normal Granary.

It is true, of course, that high government loans on corn can only be obtained as a reward for an 18-percent reduction in corn acreage. But two major loopholes in the present program prevent this restriction from effectively restraining our total production of corn.

First, under the present program, farmers who qualify for wheat and cotton loans by restricting their acreage devoted to these crops are free to turn the diverted acres to corn. Thus, expansion of grain sorghum and other feed grains on land formerly in wheat, cotton and corn will, under present regulations, almost certainly destroy any corn-acreage reduction program. For this reason, I believe, corn-belt farmers must insist that acreage diverted from wheat, cotton and corn in order to obtain government loans must be put instead into grasses and legumes for pasture and soil-building purposes.

The second and larger loophole is, of course, the increasing yields of corn per acre gained by increasing use of fertilizer. No crops respond as vigorously to nitrogen as corn. And so, with increasing use of fertilizer a reduced corn acreage can still produce more corn. Weather being equal, there is every prospect that increased fertilizer use for 1955 or 1956 will increase corn yields by 10 and possibly by 15 percent. From 1955 to 1965 high nitrogen applications will almost certainly (barring a breakdown in our civilization) sweep the corn belt like hybrid corn did from 1934 to 1944. Increases will run into several hundred million bushels annually. The huge corn crops cannot be absorbed unless the large volume of meat and livestock products resulting from the corn is priced attractively. Nitrogen applied to corn land at less than 20 cents a pound will produce corn at a price less than 80 percent of parity. If a large volume of meat and livestock products is to be moved into consumption, corn will have to sell at less than 85 percent of parity except in years of bad weather or war disaster. With ordinary weather, and no more, there will be enough nitrogen put on corn after 1955 to play havoc with any price-support program which is much above $1.20 a bushel on the farm.

Corn, of course, means livestock since livestock is largely corn. Present hog prices above $25 a hundred at Chicago are too high to continue long. The $64 question for the corn and hog farmer is "What price for corn and hogs over the next eight years will give me the greatest income with the prospect for high nitrogen application as it is?"

Of course the answer is anyone's guess, but mine would be that the farmer should be very happy if he could average for the period on the farm $17 a hundred for hogs and $1.30 a bushel for corn. If the government could assure him of $26 hogs and $1.60 corn, I would say that the farmers would compete so vigorously against each other that within a very few years the Ever-Normal Granary would be destroyed by a vast flood of grain—or that such vast quantities of corn would be put into hogs as to inundate the markets.

In brief, what I am saying is that so far as corn is concerned, I very much question the wisdom of maintaining for more than a year or two longer a support price which is in excess of 80 percent of parity. Study may indicate that by 1956, 80 percent is too high. However, I would hate to see the shift to the reality of "Post-Korea" made too rapidly. But the shift must be made barring serious trouble in South Asia.

Should we not therefore work out a corn program which on the one hand is directly related to the best possible care of the soil farm by farm, township by township, county by county and state by state while on the other hand it is proportioned to obtaining maximum income by pricing corn to move a large volume of livestock products into consumption?

WHEAT and cotton are quite different in many ways from corn. The nature of the demand is different and the impact of cheap nitrogenous fertilizers may be quite different especially in the Western wheat and cotton belts where there is not enough nitrogen fertilizer applied to defeat a wheat acreage reduction program. On the other hand, the demand for wheat is far less responsive to a fall in price than corn. Livestock consumption can be increased in many ways but wheat consumption very little.

Wheat and cotton are involved much more in the export market, and many wheat and cotton farmers are pushing very vigorously for a two price system for domestic and overseas markets in which subsidies to our farmers will make up the difference between high prices at home and lower prices abroad. This program may be sound within limits, but carried beyond a certain point it could cause such hardship to certain foreign countries as to touch off the beginnings of a worldwide depression. For example Canada which is far and away our best customer is peculiarly vulnerable right now if we press wheat exports with heavy subsidies in excess of our quota under the International Wheat Agreement.

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Keeping in mind the problems of wheat and cotton farmers in foreign lands, I believe that we should work out now an International Ever-Normal Granary or Food and Fiber Reserve. Under this system international reserves of wheat and cotton would be made available to peoples who are otherwise unable to buy. This, of course, would be a large-scale program and for my part I hope President Eisenhower is given *carte blanche* to use at least a billion dollars of our surpluses to relieve suffering wherever and whenever he deems it wise to do so. However, in performing acts of international charity we should make it clear that no people should ever feel that they can expect charity from us as a matter of duty. No people has the right to feel that we in the USA are obligated to help them year after year. But it is appropriate that we help them while they are mastering with all possible speed the techniques to help themselves. Hunger is making Communists on the Southern border of the Iron Curtain. We have the means both in supplies and techniques to fight the hunger. Of course, it would make the best impression if we could do much of the supplying of food to the hungry through UN organizations. Just the same if it is difficult to use the UN let us put our surpluses to work by going direct. It is in line with our world objectives, and part of our domestic aim of preventing our Ever-Normal Granary from becoming abnormal. When supplies rot there is a waste that cannot be justified no matter how much high prices may help the farmer.

We should realize, however, that the problems of domestic readjustment will remain. Regardless of the overseas program, the farmers will have to face the economic facts of life and not strive for the impossible in a postwar world where worldwide supply and demand forces are loaded against him for the next 10 years at least. No matter how great our gifts to starving millions abroad (and I hope they will be very large), no matter how great our acreage reductions of basic crops, no matter how successful our efforts to maintain full employment at high wages, it would seem to be difficult if not impossible to maintain farm purchasing power in terms of commodities much above 85 percent of parity. Frankly I would be very happy and somewhat surprised if the basic farm commodities would have an exchange value for things which farmers buy as high as 85 percent as an average of the next 10 years. On a family income basis such a ratio might give the maximum possible and the income parity might even be 100 or better because one man now produces so much more than formerly. Compared with the base period of 1910 to 1914, one man now produces fully twice as much. Of course his expenditures for machinery and fertilizer have gone up many fold and he has become very vulnerable to a squeeze between fixed costs for expenditures and violently fluctuating but on the whole declining prices for his product. Recognizing this difficulty we must also realize that modern techniques have paid off in a big way and there is every indication that by 1970 the average farmer will produce at least 50 percent more than he is today. This means that year after year the smaller, non-specialized farmer will more and more be pushed out of the picture unless he has a job on the side. An increased farm income will be divided among fewer farm workers who are highly trained in the use of modern machinery, fertilizer, seeds, feeds and up-to-date methods of marketing. In other words farming will require an ever greater skill and an ever larger per capita investment in land and working capital while at the same time there will be greater competition and risk than in similar businesses in town.

If just a few things go wrong in the next 10 years, we could be in for very serious farm trouble. Extensive unemployment would hurt worst of all. Sudden withdrawal of support prices at the same time as growing unemployment might precipitate a downward spiral.

ON THE OTHER hand many say that nothing serious can happen to the farmer because the population is increasing at the rate of more than two million a year and in 1970 we shall probably have 190 million people or nearly twice as many as we had back in the 1910-1914 base period. The acreage of farm land will increase very little and there will actually be fewer farmers in 1970 than there were in 1910. They will form about 14 percent of the population as compared with 30 percent in 1910. Probably 7/8 of the food of the US will be produced by seven percent of the population. This will mean a great decline in farm political power at a time when the farm strategical bargaining power has increased. By 1970 the average farmer will be producing three times as much as in 1910 and the average farm family will be feeding seven city families whereas in 1910 the ratio was less than 3 to 1. Moreover the average city family in 1970 will be eating far more healthfully than in 1910 with a higher percentage of food coming from high vitamin, good protein sources such as meat, eggs, milk, fruit and vegetables. The supreme political and agricultural science of the future will consist in striking the optimum balance between three great forces, first an expanding and increasingly powerful science; second diminishing soil, mineral and oil resources; and third a powerful demand on the part of 190 million citizens of this land for an ever higher standard of living. Almost equally important for the statesman of the future will be scientific recognition of the fact that there will still be in the world more than a billion people who have a standard of living less than one-tenth that of ours and who are therefore very jealous of us unless we are able to demonstrate our good will toward them in the most convincing and practical way. Help extended from us to them can, if offered in the wrong way, strengthen the hateful elements in their hearts and eventually unleash forces which will threaten the foundations of our existence. Only the science of the future combined with the missionary spirit of the past can enable us to overcome the great envy which is awakened by the great power of our standard of living.

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"Mr. Retail"

Illinois Republicans have chosen lobbyist Joe Meeks to oppose Paul Douglas.

by Richard Lewis

SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS' Republican opponent in Illinois next fall is a jovial, 50-year-old lobbyist named Joseph T. Meek, who walked away with the GOP Senatorial nomination from a field of nine candidates in the April 13 primary election.

Meek has never held political office, but he knows his way around. For the last 20 years, he has been buttonholing legislators at the state capitol in Springfield in the name of the Illinois Federation of Retail Associations, which boasts 60,000 members. He founded this organization and has perfected it as a powerful pressure group, dedicated to a continuous fight against the sales tax, fair employment practices legislation and minimum wages for women.

Meek's success in the primary was phenomenal. He carried 80 of 102 counties, ran more than 100,000 votes ahead of his nearest rival, Edward A. Hayes, former National Commander of the American Legion, and received three times the vote of the principal pro-Eisenhower candidate, Austin Wyman of Chicago, who was third. One of the most conspicuous contributions to his nomination was the support he received from Republican members of the legislature. A week before the election, Meek announced that 33 of the 36 GOP members of the state Senate had endorsed his candidacy and to prove it he invited them all to a luncheon in Chicago. Thirteen obediently showed up and reported it was Joe Meek all the way in their Senatorial districts. Thirteen others who were unable to come sent their reports by mail. The remaining seven whom Meek listed on his team did not become visible in this show of solidarity, but they were reported to be working for him at home.

It was a unique tribute to a lobbyist, even one who has worked as long and as hard as Joe Meek to help legislators get elected and to steer them into legislative courses which would win the approval of the retail federation and its claimed 60,000 members. Meek disclosed his technique of winning elections and influencing legislation in a speech he made at Madison, Wis., in 1948. A recording of the address was obtained by the *Chicago Sun-Times*. According to this reproduction, Meek described how he persuaded 20 "merchant princes" of Peoria to help finance the campaign of Sen. Everett Dirksen in the days when Dirksen was running for Congress and was sorely in need of funds.

This is the practical way to help a man get elected, Meek advised. He related:

> I found out one day how much it cost that fellow (Dirksen) to run for Congress. He's not a wealthy fellow, and he's as honest and as clean and as decent and intelligent as a man could be—and as unafraid.
>
> He was worried about what it was costing him because he was in a big area and had to pay the party and had to pay the workers. So I looked through about 20 of these merchant princes in Peoria. And I called them together and said to them:
>
> "You gentlemen buy life insurance; you buy health insurance. Why don't you buy insurance for the continuation of good government in Illinois to protect you and your fixed expenses?"
>
> They said: "What do you mean?"
>
> [I explained:]
>
> "You as corporations cannot or should not give this gentleman the support of the practical kind that you, as individuals, as citizens of the country, should pay a man, what is worthy in his eyes."
>
> They were shocked at first. They stuttered a bit. Then they evaluated the thing, and, as individuals, did just that. Before he was elected, they helped him, and they liked it, and they began to enjoy their participation in government.
>
> They used to call my very good friend on the telephone in Washington and say:
>
> "Mr. Dirksen, how about this or that bill?" And he, being a good politician, would say: "Why, yes, I think so" or "I don't know."
>
> It makes a devil of a lot of difference.

In Springfield, Meek is generally regarded as the most persuasive lobbyist in the whole, motley collection of promoters who hang around the legislature

As a lobbyist, he goes beyond the mere influencing of legislators; he attempts to influence their election. Last September, he told the Chicago Rotary Club: "Become a precinct captain. Earn your right to say what you want in legislative halls. Every black bag I ever heard of had its inception in the mind of some businessman, who paid not the least attention to sound, practical, clean politics."

He essayed to convey something of the thrill of

Richard Lewis is a reporter with the Chicago Sun-Times.

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politicking. "There is nothing more exhilarating," he said, "than watching a political machine go to work, if you are part of it."

Like his approach to practical politics, Meek's political philosophy has unfolded in thousands of speeches he has made from one end of Illinois to the other during the years that he has carpetbagged the state promoting the interests of his retailers. He has covered every crossroads in Illinois, is as much at home in Farmer City as he is on State Street in Chicago. His tours during his primary election campaign were like old home week. This time, he was promoting himself. He described his tactics as "door-to-door selling." In large measure, his victory is a consequence of being known by thousands of people throughout the state. Meek probably has a wider acquaintance than Governor William Stratton, a prodigious handshaker and crossroads canvasser.

Like Stratton, Meek is a country politician, plain talking and pleasant. But it took more than a wide acquaintance to swing the nomination for Meek. Behind him was a well-heeled organization, which plastered the roadsides with more outdoor advertising than appeared for any of the other eight candidates. In some downstate counties, it appeared as though Meek was the only candidate. Meek was born in Indianola, Ia., in 1904, was graduated from college there and taught economics and sociology at the Audubon, Ia., High School, where he also coached football. He became public-relations director of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce in 1927 and in 1934 started his retail association. This promotion made him so conspicuous as the retailers' champion that he became known as "Mr. Retail."

One of the few successful candidates in recent years without a military record, Meek fought the battle of the home front for his retailers during World War II, when he became advertised as the OPA's most formidable foe. During the early years of the war, which seemed to annoy Meek as a source of business inconvenience, he made several sorties to Washington to plead for relief of retailers' frustration with price controls before the Illinois Congressional delegation. In 1943, he attacked rationing as a device through which bureaucrats were gaining a stranglehold on the nation's economy. Again, in 1944, Meek recognized the war effort. He exhorted an audience of farmers and businessmen at St. Charles, Ill., to adopt a creed that, "Now and forever, America comes first—blood, sweat or tears." In June, 1945, a war-weary Meek protested an Office of Defense Transportation prohibition against sales conventions. How is business in the nation to continue? he demanded. In March, 1946, Meek again leveled his retail lance against price control. He demanded that retailers get relief. They deserved it, he said, because of their co-operation during the war.

Meek's postwar economic outlook was outlined in a speech he delivered in March, 1947, at what was called the Second Smaller Stores Clinic in Chicago. He told the Smaller Stores men that national minimum wage laws and fair employment practices legislation increased cost and cut production. Such laws, he said, result in temporary gain for the minority at the expense of the majority.

Now and then, in private life, Meek seems to reveal a more cynical view of politics than he displays in public life. In a personal letter two years ago, he remarked: "The Democratic Party has no desire to face real issues in 1952 because it wants to stay in office. The Republican Party doesn't want to face issues because it wants to get in office."

IN FACING up to issues himself during his primary election campaign, Meek has been somewhat vague. He has seemed to be all things to many Republicans. To isolationists, he said that he favors "a pro-American foreign policy to end lavish foreign aid and the waste of US military strength by scattering garrisons in exposed posts all over the world." For supporters of the Administration's foreign policy, he has carefully made a distinction between "lavish" foreign aid and "necessary foreign defense." For the Taft Republicans, who have never become reconciled to Eisenhower, he has refused to ride into office on "President Eisenhower's coat-tails."

But he has assured independent Republicans that he supports the President. To Ward Committeemen in Chicago and downstate legislators, he advocated an "immediate purge of holdover New Dealers who are impeding President Eisenhower in his efforts to carry out the objectives which he promised this country in his campaign speeches." Before the Chicago Junior Chamber of Commerce, he asserted his own independence. He was no "hyphenated-Republican," he said.

"I am a Republican responsible only to the principles of the party and to the citizens of Illinois." On the subject of Senator McCarthy, Meek took the affirmative in a debate on: "Is McCarthyism Good for America?"

"I believe the word McCarthyism was coined and let loose on the world in a desire to discredit the Senator and his methods," he said. He has invited McCarthy to give him a hand against Douglas.

In the latter stages of the campaign, he focussed on foreign policy and hammered away against involvement of US troops in Indo-China.

At the close of the campaign, one of Meek's primary election opponents, Alderman Herbert F. Geisler of Chicago, turned on Meek in a television speech at Springfield. Geisler warned that the chances of the "paid lobbyist of an association of retail businessmen" against Douglas "would be pitiful to behold."

Geisler's remarks seemed not to matter to the GOP, but Democrats believed they were prophetic. They are confident that Meek is no match for Douglas, the liberal and war hero. Among independents, there is satisfaction that Meek's nomination makes the issues in the fall campaign crystal clear. If anywhere in the nation, there is to be a clean decision between reaction and liberalism next November, it now appears that decision will be made in Illinois.

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Massachusetts

Where personality comes before party, Saltonstall faces his toughest race.

by John P. Mallan

LAST FEBRUARY, a prominent Irish-American organization called the Shamrock Club of Massachusetts found itself in a somewhat unusual position. Two of its officers had independently invited both Adlai Stevenson and Sen. Joseph McCarthy to address its St. Patrick's Day dinner. When reporters raised questions about the incongruity of such a gathering, the club officials were more puzzled than embarrassed. Since—they said—both men were fine, patriotic Americans, they could really see no reason for the excitement.

It is such situations which have undoubtedly led both the Democratic and Republican National Committees at times to think of Massachusetts as a sort of political problem child. The state voted Democratic in five Presidential campaigns, from 1928 through 1948; only Rhode Island and one or two Southern states have an equal record of regularity. But Republicans held the Governorship from 1938 to 1948, except for one term, while Henry Cabot Lodge was elected to the Senate on three occasions and Leverett Saltonstall twice. Overwhelming victories for Truman in 1948, and for the entire Democratic state ticket in 1948 and 1950, were followed in 1952 by an equally great sweep for Eisenhower, the election of Republican Governor Christian Herter, and at the same time the defeat of Lodge by Democrat John F. Kennedy. As one politico told the writer, "At times, I cannot escape the conclusion that the voters of this state know what they're doing."

Leverett Saltonstall, who will run again this year, is almost as well known in national politics as Lodge; to many voters, he is a symbol of liberal, internationalist Republicanism. He is also one of the state's best Republican vote-getters, having won three terms as Governor and two as US Senator in strongly Democratic years. This year he will face probably his greatest opposition.

Saltonstall's liberalism is not easy to ascertain; at times it appears to be wishful thinking by those who would *like* to believe in the existence of liberal Republicanism. The American Federation of Labor, examining his record for the years 1947 to 1952, felt that he had voted against liberal and labor interests on 25 of 30 critical votes. These included votes on labor issues, aid to education, discriminatory taxation, rent control, defense-production controls and several cuts in military aid and Point Four appropriations. In the same years, the *New Republic* disagreed with his voting record about half the time.

In the present Congress, he has opposed the St. Lawrence Seaway and supported the return of tidelands oil to the states. His unwillingness to have the Armed Services Committee intervene in the McCarthy-Army dispute, and his temporary endorsement of the ill-fated Samuel Sears, are now well known; in general, he has been completely overshadowed in the Senate in recent years not only by the Midwestern conservatives and McCarthyites, but by such aggressive operators as William Knowland and Richard Nixon of California. On January 2, 1954, in an interview with the *Christian Science Monitor*, Saltonstall said, "While I don't approve of all of Senator McCarthy's methods, I do think his over-all purpose of getting subversives out of the government has been helpful. . . . He has been helpful in stimulating action in the government and in keeping us keyed up to the dangers subversives present to our life as free men."

In Massachusetts, some of Saltonstall's popularity has probably faded. He has been so quiet in the Senate that, according to one legend, a Boston paper desperate for news about him once ran a story headed, "Saltonstall Comes Out For Baked Indian Pudding." The acute state unemployment in textiles, shoes and other industries will probably hurt him this fall, and the recent loss of federal shipyard contracts here has been widely criticized.

An analysis of Saltonstall's successful campaigns for the Senate reveals a single, critical factor: he won by carrying normally Democratic areas. In 1944, for instance, he carried all but three wards of heavily Democratic Boston, the only Republican to win such a victory since the early part of the century. In 1948, he ran about eight percent ahead of Thomas E. Dewey throughout the state, but most of his lead came from cities and towns which also supported Harry Truman; in Boston, he ran 29 percent ahead of Dewey. Furthermore, much of this support came from higher-income Irish Democrats—the same marginal group who supported Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, Lodge in 1946, and both Eisenhower and John Kennedy in 1952. This group, indeed, is the real variable in a state where a very high percentage of Protestant Yankees support all Republican

John P. Mallan is a Teaching Fellow in Government at Harvard University.

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candidates, and where most lower-income Catholics support all Democrats.

A great deal of confusion about Massachusetts politics can be eliminated by remembering that it was Al Smith in 1928, not FDR in 1932, who made the state for 20 years a Democratic stronghold. The Democratic percentage of the Presidential vote changed very little between 1928 and 1948, and it is probably best to describe the higher-income Irish voters in particular as Al Smith Democrats rather than New Deal Democrats. Their real heroes in past years have been such political leaders as the conservative Democrat Joseph Ely, who served as Governor from 1930 to 1934, and then followed Al Smith into the anti-FDR Liberty League in 1936, and David I. Walsh, whose 26 years in the Senate were marked both by support of social and economic reforms and by ultra-isolationism in foreign policy. Harry Truman in 1948 received more votes than Roosevelt ever had, in some areas; Samuel Lubell has argued that this was because many voters saw Truman as the kind of conservative Democrat they really preferred to either Republican or New Deal leadership.

The real question of Saltonstall's defeat or victory this year, therefore, depends as much on the caliber of his opponent as on Saltonstall's own record. In 1944, he won easily over a totally unknown Democrat, John Corcoran, who did very little campaigning; in 1948, he won by a much closer margin over the even more obscure John I. Fitzgerald, who had never held any office, was endorsed by no one, and did not campaign at all—and who had won the primary nomination only because his name was confused with that of a former mayor of Boston.

THIS YEAR, for the first time, Saltonstall will almost certainly face a strong, intelligent and vigorous campaigner — Foster Furcolo, who was elected State Treasurer in 1952 despite the Eisenhower sweep, and who had previously served two terms in Congress from Springfield, the second Democrat in history to represent that district. Furcolo, a 43-year old graduate of Yale Law School, of Irish and Italian ancestry, was recently referred to by *Fortune* as one of the most promising young Democratic leaders in the country; his Congressional record won wide approval.

In the same years that the AFL and CIO disagreed with a large part of Saltonstall's voting record, they considered Furcolo to have been right 100 percent of the time; the *New Republic* supported him on 42 of 45 issues in his two terms. In 1952, a major factor in the defeat of Lodge by John Kennedy was the unwillingness of the *laissez-faire* Republican leadership to take any action about the ailing Massachusetts economy (except to suggest cutting out federal aid to the South and West); Furcolo is expected to emphasize the same problem, as well as the growing national economic crisis. In short, he will campaign on the issues; he is articulate in his liberalism; and, in terms of the marginal voting groups discussed, it may be equally important that he is well-educated, comes from a respected Springfield family—his father is a prominent physician—and that he looks and talks something like a State Street broker and not at all like a ward politician.

Furcolo will be opposed at the Democratic state convention, and in the primary which will follow, by former Governor and Mayor James M. Curley, who will be 80 in a few months but is still an active and fascinating politician, and possibly by Congressman Philip Philbin of Clinton and others. But he carried both a difficult primary and an arduous election in 1952—he was the first Italian-American ever to win statewide office—and he is expected to win the nomination. His chances, and those of other Democrats, have become somewhat more uncertain, however, since the announcement that neither former Governor Paul Dever nor Mayor John Hynes of Boston, the strongest vote-getters available, will run for Governor against popular Christian Herter.

The only note of dissension in the Furcolo campaign so far has been a rift between his supporters and members of the Americans for Democratic Action. On December 12, 1953, Furcolo was asked to address the state convention of the ADA. In his speech, he took a position for which the organization was quite unprepared; he said that he felt the original purpose of the ADA, when it was founded in 1947, had been to keep liberal leadership alive in the Democratic Party. Whatever the 1947 situation, Furcolo believed that the campaigns of 1948 and 1952, the leadership of Truman and Adlai Stevenson, and the election of such men as Lehman, Humphrey, Douglas, Kefauver, Symington, Monroney and many others, showed that the Democratic Party was basically a more effective and influential organization than any single interest group of liberals could hope to be.

Furthermore, Furcolo believed many thousands of voters who would support almost every individual stand endorsed by the ADA were hostile or suspicious toward the organization, and that—in his opinion—it would therefore be better if the ADA did not endorse candidates at all, and in fact considered disbanding.

This admittedly strong view, from which Furcolo has not retreated, received headlines in the Boston press, and was reported nationally by both conservative and liberal publications. While he has been strongly criticized for his stand by ADA leaders, his real position—that an Al Smith electorate cannot be appealed to as if it were a New Deal electorate—has not been challenged.

In any case, the ADA dispute will not affect the state political picture very much. What will be more important is the way in which Foster Furcolo is able to present the issues—and himself—to the voters. Those who have seen his aggressive campaigning for, both Congress and in the statewide election in 1952, believe that he will give Leverett Saltonstall the most serious competition of his career.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

New Novels in Soft Covers

by Malcolm Cowley

A PECULIARITY of paper-back publishing is that the book itself—or rather the front cover of the book—serves as its principal advertising display. There are four features on the cover that help to sell a pocket-size novel (nonfiction is a different problem, approached by more conservative methods). The first feature is a sentence or phrase, called the skyline, which is usually printed above the title; it tells why the book should be read ("A tense, gripping tale of lust and larceny"). The second is the title itself, which should be simple and vigorous, or suggestive; often the title of a novel is changed for the soft-cover edition. The third feature is the author's name, which may serve as evidence of some desired quality in the book—especially if the name is Caldwell or Spillane—and the fourth is a scene from the story illustrated in five or six glaring colors.

Almost always the scene is intended to suggest one of the universal human emotions. Sexual desire is regarded as the strongest of these, although the emotions suggested may also be horror, curiosity, or combativeness. Effective covers are thought to be those containing some recognized sexual symbol: a blazing gun (for potency), a whip, a rumpled bed, or a half-dressed woman with a visible cleavage between her very large breasts (cleavage, in the pocket-book trade, is known as "gow"). Still more effective covers might combine several symbols: for example, they might show, or have shown, a gun blazing at a woman with lots of gow as she collapsed on a rumpled bed.

I am speaking here in somewhat historical terms. In 1954 the threat of police censorship has had one desirable effect, among others that are ominous, and cover artists are being instructed to be more discreet. Many of the newer illustrations depend on "situation sex," which might mean a fully dressed prostitute waiting for clients, or again might be the face and bare shoulders of an enticing woman looking out through a crack in a bedroom door. Other illustrations are "down-sexed" and depend on their appeal to necrophilia, masochism, or repressed aggression.

Questions of gow and cheesecake, of illustrations that are up-sexed, down-sexed, or situation-sexed, are carefully explored by paper-back publishers, who sometimes regard the cover as being more important than the text. "Give me the right cover," said a newcomer in the field, who was fresh from directing pulp-paper magazines, "and I could sell two hundred blank pages. I could sell *Finnegans Wake* on Skid Road as a book of Irish jokes."

It is possible that he could sell a first soft-cover printing of *Finnegans Wake* in the shabbiest neighborhood, but he couldn't sell a second. The generalized public can always be fooled, but individual members of the public don't like to be fooled a second time. They won't complain to the publisher, and probably not to anyone, but they mightn't buy another pocket-size book. I'm not at all certain that displaying Jean-Paul Sartre's short stories, for example, with a half-naked woman on the cover isn't one way of fooling the public. Misbranded merchandise is still misbranded, even if it is better than the article described on the wrapper—and even if it isn't merchandise at all, but a seriously intended work of literature. The misbranding might interfere with the sale of other merchandise that is accurately labeled, and I think this has happened in the pocket-book field. Many of the less educated buyers must be afraid of getting another collection of difficult advance-guard stories disguised with a suggestive title and a sexy illustration.

The items of merchandise that have actually been popular on the newsstands, except in special neighborhoods—the books that have justified their wide distribution by going into second and third large printings—are usually novels with a strong story line, lots of action, and other sure-fire ingredients. Not enough novels of this sort have been issued by trade publishers to supply the demand for new titles. The result has been any novel with the right ingredients has become the subject of competitive bidding, sometimes while it was still in manuscript. "I'll make a payment of fifteen thousand dollars against future royalties," says one of the soft-cover publishers. "I'll guarantee twenty thousand," says another. In several cases the advance guarantee has risen to a higher figure: forty thousand for *The Naked and the Dead,* a hundred thousand for *From Here to Eternity.* Half of the sum, by the terms of most contracts, has gone to the trade-publishing house and half to the author.

Any novel that receives an advance guarantee of fifteen thousand dollars or more is known as a "premium" book. By its gratifying sale, *Eternity* is earning enough in soft-cover royalties to cover the guarantee, as *The Naked and the Dead* may also have done, but the earnings of most of the premium books have been less than the advance payment. That has been one complaint of the pocket-book houses; another has been that, even after making what seemed to them unreasonably high bids, they still didn't get the novels they wanted. The next step was obvious: some of them explored the possibility of publishing new fiction for themselves. The fiction might be easy to find, if they merely relaxed a few of the requirements that had been imposed by trade publishers, for example, if they were a little less exacting in matters of originality, credibility of plot, consistency of motivation, and good writing. All these were less important for newsstand sales than telling a headlong story with lots of sex, emphatic characters, and a picturesque background. Scores of novelists trained by the pulp-paper magazines were able to tell such stories; why not choose the most experienced, give them kitchen-tested subjects, and set them to work? In 1950 Gold Medal Books announced the first series of pocket-size new novels. It was a sensation in the publishing world and other companies entered the same field. In 1953 they brought out two hundred and twenty-five "originals," or more than one-fifth of all the new titles issued as pocket-size books.

One publisher of new soft-cover fiction has followed a different policy from the others. Ballantine Books, founded in 1952, has tried to find and publish new novels of some literary merit (while

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avoiding what the company describes as "authors whose style and subject matter are extremely specialized"). Ballantine covers part of the editorial or professional costs by working, wherever possible, in co-operation with a trade publisher. Many of its novels have appeared simultaneously in two editions, one sold in bookstores for a dollar-fifty or more per copy (usually more), the other at newsstands for thirty-five cents (or ten cents more than ordinary pocket-size novels). The plan is attractive to authors, whose royalties are paid at more than the usual soft-cover rate; also they needn't be divided with a trade-book publisher. But royalties depend on total sales, as well as on rate per copy, and in 1954 Ballantine hadn't yet solved the distribution problem; for example, in the Near North Side of Chicago I saw only a few Ballantine novels on sale, at only one of many drugstores and newsstands I visited. The experiment also hasn't proved that newsstand customers prefer "originals" to reprinted novels.

The customers, however, will buy "originals" if they have an unoriginal look, in other words, if they fall into some popular and easily recognized category of writing. That is the chief lesson to be drawn from the commercial success of Gold Medal Originals, Dell First Editions, and two or three other series of soft-cover novels that are written to order, on subjects approved or even imposed by the editor (who sometimes furnishes the ready-made outline of a plot), and then published from manuscript. There is no misbranding of merchandise, unless the high-breasted female on the cover promises a little more titillation than has been provided by the author. Dubious customers need only read the skyline of the novel, which, besides telling why it should be read, also places it in some definite and familiar category of fiction. If they like the novel after reading it, they can find others in the same series described in excerpts from the publisher's catalogue that are often printed at the end of the book. Here, in the case of Gold Medal Originals, are some of the excerpts:

178. CABIN ROAD *John Faulkner*
A slice in the lusty passionate back country life that made *Tobacco Road* a classic. John Faulkner's best book.

222. SPRING FIRE *Vin Packer*
A novel of love between two beautiful women. Honest, provocative, it deals with a theme too important to keep from the light.

256. STREET OF THE LOST
David Goodis
Here is the story of Ruxton Street, in the city's lowest slums. A street of prostitutes, workers and dope pushers. But a street where people live and love as they do on any back street in your home town.

No. 178, by William Faulkner's younger brother, clearly belongs to the Tobacco Road category, as well as to the older one of stories about the farmer's lusty passionate daughter. No. 222 is Deviant or Off-beat Sex (or well-of-loneliness). No. 256 is Proletarian Sex, a category that has proved to be much more popular on the newsstands than in bookstores. People who live—as many newsstand customers do—in respectable working-class neighborhoods like to read about other neighborhoods that have escaped from respectability.

People in slums also buy pocket-size books; they like to read Gangster and Waterfront stories, always with lots of sex in them and often with a tough detective for hero. They like even more to read Cowboy stories (now usually with sex), and in fact this category is the one that chiefly nourishes the American daydreams of the less educated classes, including real cowboys (and Senator McCarthy). The prosperous classes find their dreams of escape in Mysteries, with less sex and a series of clean murders solved by a gentle and cultured detective. One notes that rental libraries, usually situated in prosperous neighborhoods, have little call for Cowboy stories, but keep a large stock of Mysteries. A middle position, economically speaking, is occupied by Science Fiction (with or without sex), whose readers—according to a survey by University of Chicago sociologists—have incomes a little but not much above the national average. These are the familiar categories that have furnished most of the fast-moving items among "originals" on the newsstands: Tobacco Road, Off-beat Sex (now declining in popularity), Proletarian Sex, Gangster and Waterfront, Cowboy (now rising again), Mystery (still the largest category, but declining), Science Fiction (steady), and always, one might add, Historical Sex, with bitchy heroines. There is a continuing strong market for novels about pros, or prossies, and nymphos, but those about psychos, dipsos, and junkies are said to be in weakening demand.

Books of all the categories are produced, honestly packaged, and distributed as merchandise. There is always the possibility, of course, that some of them might turn out to be "originals" in another sense of the word than that used by their publishers. Category fiction isn't necessarily bad fiction and authors like Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler—not to mention dozens of others—have written it in a personal style and with some freshness of treatment. Today there are not a few relatively serious and talented authors who are being tempted by high advances, and sometimes by the closing of other outlets, into writing novels for the newsstand audience. One thinks of John Faulkner, W. R. Burnett, MacKinlay Kantor, Jerome Weidman, Richard Wright, George Milburn, and Benjamin Appel (to whom I am indebted for some of my facts); in 1954 all these, and many others, are under contract to soft-cover publishers.

The larger houses in the field were able to offer guarantees of three thousand dollars for each novel, based on a first printing of about two hundred and fifty thousand copies; some novels go into second or even third printings and earn additional royalties. Some manuscripts prove to be better from a literary standpoint than the publishers have bargained for. The publishers have no objections to literary merit; in fact they welcome it in any novel that also contains the required newsstand ingredients; but neither do they object to lack of merit, if the ingredients are present. Most of their authors will give them what they require, and nothing more. Most of the "originals," now and in the future, will be interesting chiefly as sociological documents that cast light on the dreams of escape and the sexual fantasies of the broader American public. If we hope to find new novels that are not categorized, not written to specifications, not expected to reach a wide audience because novels just like them have reached it already, we must continue to look first to the trade-book publishers.

This is the second of two articles by Mr. Cowley on hard- and soft-cover fiction. — THE EDITORS.

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The Dark Fantastic

IN THIS report of research on comic books Dr. Wertham, a psychiatrist well-known for his popularizing, observes that he has not succeeded in bringing about the passage of state laws to control the dime-novelettes. The California courts threw out a statute on which he had worked. The U. S. Supreme Court (with Justice Frankfurter dissenting) refused to sustain the conviction of a vendor of a comic book called "Bargains in Bodies." Governor Dewey vetoed a control bill passed by the legislators of New York State, remarking that it failed to "meet fundamental constitutional requirements."

Seduction of the Innocent, by Frederic Wertham, M.D. (Rinehart; $4).

Dr. Wertham puts on record here his observations of troubled children and their reading habits, observations that convince him that comic books should be controlled. He also reports a statement by one of the editors of comic books: "We are businessmen who can't be expected to protect maladjusted children." With his sincere feeling that the imagination of the young is being denatured by some of the stuff, the author is understandably shocked by those who disagree with his insistence on control. It is almost understandable, as well, why he spares little time to discuss the amusing and benign comic books — even though he concedes their existence.

Actor Jimmy Gleason used to say that a decent play was one a twelve-year-old boy could take his parents to without embarrassing them. Dr. Wertham's look at comic book consumption suggests that children have not forgotten how to protect their parents from what turns up in some of their entertainment. The investigator talked to more than a few parents who said that they were unaware that comic books contain not only Donald Duck but also the dark fantastic imagery of perverse mayhem. A few crazy, mixed-up parents may not realize it yet, but books along the lines of *Seduction of The Innocent* could keep them more sleepless than "Supergirl" is supposed to keep their kids. Dr. Wertham shows here how a number of children in enough trouble to be sent to his clinic for guidance had their mental measles—or worse—aggravated by comic books. These observations, assisted by the National Research Foundation, constitute a case especially strong, in Dr. Wertham's view, against the "crime" comic books.

One of the standing difficulties in this arena of argument is that arguments from psychological experts are already suspect. Some of the experts, according to Dr. Wertham himself, have defended the comic books without making it plain enough that they are, or have been, on the comic book industry payroll. The difficulty with the independent research reported here is quite otherwise. It pivots mainly on the author's determination to write as if he meant to impress his readers not with professional argument, but with professional status. His theory of how people get meanings out of what they read and see in pictures is psychologically over-simplified. It assumes that the messages received by comic-book readers are unambiguous. It assumes that children themselves are unaware of the questionable quality of the "messages" that the author himself finds in some of the comic books.

This study overworks, as well, the same fallacy about the impact of fiction that other psychiatrists have deluded themselves with—the notion that fiction is quite directly responsible for the fantasies and emulations of readers. To be against "bad" fiction, for Dr. Wertham, is to be against culturally-disapproved actions that turn up in fiction. The idea that the manipulation of viewpoint, rather than the selection of material, constitutes the major opportunity for artistic crime is one that he recognizes. Its application, however, appears to bore him. He confines his study of such matters to the shop-worn observation that a covert viewpoint condoning sadism is not cancelled out by an overt viewpoint tagged on to a yarn in such terminal bromides as "Crime Does Not Pay."

Dr. Wertham's high-pitched argument is a tissue of troublesome points. His interview materials are presented with the scantest apparatus of criticism —in some instances, they appear to record the uneasy spectacle of children telling their interviewer what they guessed he wanted to hear. The research-minded second-thought is lacking in his observation that juvenile crimes of violence seem to have increased in the years of crime comic book ascendancy. The young offenders are not proved by the data to be proponderantly crime-comic readers, as compared with non-offenders. Nor is there anything in the design of the research to exclude the possibility that the 50 percent of the juvenile population engaged most intensely in crime-comic reading might be in the 50 percent of the juvenile population engaged in least frequent lawlessness. All he has shown by his own research is that kids who have trouble with understanding life have trouble in understanding fiction too.

Dr. Wertham's argument tacitly assumes, in a largely unjustifiable way, his comprehensive knowledge of social structure and culture. This may be why he displays so little interest in or insight into such broad cultural themes as, for example, the thematic content of print. It does not occur to him that it might be useful to consider and to discriminate among alternative explanations of why certain themes appear in print. Could the connection between love and violence in

> IN THE COMIC BOOK field the alternatives to censorship have been fully tried. Self-regulation — to the extent that it was really attempted—has completely failed. In connection with parent-teacher organizations and other similar groups there have been local committees evaluating comic books. Most of their work of wading through hundreds of comic books was originally undertaken with enthusiasm, but has of course bogged down. . . .
>
> What must happen to the minds of children before parents will give up these amateurish extra-legal committee activities and ask for efficient, legal democratic protection for their children?
>
> Legal control of comic books for children is necessary not so much on account of the question of sex, although their sexual abnormality is bad enough, but on account of their glorification of violence and crime. . . . People are always ready to censor obvious crudety in sex. But they have not yet learned the role of temptation, propaganda, seduction and indoctrination in the field of crime and violence. Psychoanalytically we know a great deal about the repression of sexual impulses. But to apply that directly to the psychology of criminal and violent impulses is far too simple. The reading of corrupting literature is a significant contributing factor in the causation of criminal and violent acts of juveniles.
>
> FREDERIC WERTHAM
> from *Seduction of the Innocent*

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popular literature and in comic books be indirect evidence of cultural change? Assume that our culture is shifting toward greater control by women over the conditions of their sexuality. Could the confusion between love and violence in fiction be a result, in part, of men's uncertainty about this change? The confusion between love and violence is an illness as well as a fictional *motif*; it is confusing to find the author of a study dealing so heavily with the theme so disinterested in theories of its epidemiology.

Largely because Dr. Wertham's personal research is loaded by its avowedly narrow restriction to discussion with kids in trouble, the book is tedious on kids, on comics, and on crime. The omissions of judgment are surprising. Dr. Wertham does not seem to infer from the statements of parents who "didn't know" what is in comic books either that they were lying, or that they have never participated in the everyday process of helping a kid to buy one or read one. He does not concede, in his scorn for the expert testimonials that can be bought by an industry, that his own statements constitute another form of "testimonial" in which different but equally important issues are embedded. If the parent is given less than he deserves to know by the expert of the favorable testimonial, it is equally true that he is given less than he needs to know by the work of Dr. Wertham. Nor is his angle of attack entirely free from an air of professional advertising.

As for the author's genuine and praiseworthy interest in children and their reading, it needs to be said again and again that the legal problems of control arise out of well-founded doubts. They are doubts about having legislators pass laws about matters on which their sophistication is limited, at the behest of people who press one-sided views of the process involved, to rule situations about which opinion is divided. Dr. Wertham's implication that those who disagree with him are naïve abettors of the devil suggests that he has learned more from looking at the comic books than he himself realizes.

REUEL DENNEY

Age of Anxiety

Company Manners: A Cultural Inquiry into American Life, by Louis Kronenberger (Bobbs-Merrill; $3).

LOUIS KRONENBERGER is one of the brightest of Henry Luce's Bright Young Men. In that capacity, he writes anonymously for *Time* magazine, a periodical that is weekly moved to transports of delight about contemporary America. This discipline appears to have had the effect on Mr. Kronenberger that might be expected; it has confirmed him in preferring the eighteenth century to this one, and the current European scene to the milieu in which he moves. His book is a witty, trenchant and partly unanswerable diatribe against our civilization, which he calls the age of publicity and anxiety.

We are devoted to both God and Mammon, so much so that "we not only tend to serve both at the same time but to confuse the two." He dislikes, among a lot of other things, our formal education, the theater, motion pictures, the radio and television. American art, such as it is, is not organic; it plays no part in shaping our lives, which may be due, he thinks, to the fact that the pioneer tradition is still strong and pioneers are notoriously inartistic extroverts. Unlike those who are shocked speechless by the exuberant juvenile delinquency of the day, he finds the young dreadfully meek and complaisant. We manage to continue to be parochial even though it is now the smart thing for every Babbitt to travel abroad; these wanderers return bearing fragments of European culture, but always the same, interchangeable fragments. His scorn is not confined to the lowbrow, however. In a telling passage he reports the snobbishness of the intellectual who, when he tries to be folksy, jumps right past the pleasures of the middle class. Thus the intelligentsia, when romping, will play poker but not bridge, watch movies but not television, relax over detective stories but not crossword puzzles.

To be sure, Mr. Kronenberger does his best to see a good side to America, too, having arrived on page 215 at the remarkable understatement that "in a book like this, doubtless what seems wrong with American life is given an unfair prominence." He points out, surprising no one, that we are rich, hospitable and friendly. He thinks baseball is better than bull fighting. It is our Puritanism that drives us to work too hard, which in turn causes us to feel that our recreation must be strictly devoid of ideas. Along the way he delivers many shrewd and effective blows, debunking, among other national institutions, Rodgers and Hammerstein, Elsa Maxwell, the Great Books and "Ph. Deism."

Despite his occasional kind words, this is in essence a lawyer's brief against American civilization. He does not explain, for example, a lot of phenomena that do not fit into his thesis very well, such as the fact that more copies of the classics are being sold annually, in proportion to population, than ever before; that interest in painting and serious music are at unparalleled heights; and that twentieth-century Europe, whose cultural standards he admires, seems to have an indefinite capacity for absorbing and relishing the cheapest and most vulgar American artistic products—our bad Hollywood movies, for example. He ignores the known facts about the distribution of intelligence in the United States: only three million people have IQ's of 140 or more, enabling them to function on the intellectual plane Mr. Kronenberger considers desirable, while almost fifty million have IQ's of 90 or less, which means that they can never get much beyond the comic-book lev-

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el. Most of all, and despite what he says to the contrary, at bottom he regards American culture as static. To many other people, including this reviewer, it seems enormously dynamic, and exciting for that reason. It would not be fair to say to Mr. Kronenberger that if he likes the eighteenth century so much, why doesn't he go back there; but it is quite fair to ask him please to wait a hundred years and then take another look at America—assuming of course that it hasn't been hydrogenized out of existence in the meantime.

BRUCE BLIVEN

A Born Politican

CHARLES A. BEARD was, and remains a fascinating problem in American civilization. Totally devoid of historic instinct he yet made himself the greatest historian of his time—and, indeed, of all American time. Abhorring all systems as logomachic pedantry, yet he made himself the most significant political scientist of his time. Despising the niceties and charms of polite literature,

Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal, edited by Howard Beale (Kentucky; $4.50).

he made out of the dullness of political and historical writing a fine art, transmissible to workers in the field. Twelve of them collaborated in this appraisal of Beard, and every one of them has written more interestingly than he was born to write.

Charley Beard, as we who knew him called him in our hearts, was born and bred a politician and a politician he remained to his end. Born, one may question; but he was born free, son of an excellent laconic man just oppressive enough to make Charley free but not so oppressive as to inflict an Oedipus curse upon him. Bred in the steaming unrest of the Middle-Western 1880s and '90s, when men were exercised by *Wealth against Commonwealth*, by the rise of the Knights of Labor, the Farmer's Alliance, Populism and the "crucifixion of humanity on a Cross of Gold."

Every generous spirited American of that time turned toward politics. The America of one's dreams, the America of equal opportunity, of a fair field and no favor, was being clouded over by sinister forces of economic greed, tycoon oppression, political corruption. Born free, one had no choice except to fight. LaFollette and Judge Norris chose political position as their immediate objective in the fight for American democracy. Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker and Ida Tarbell chose journalism. Hamlin Garland chose fiction. By some queer kink in his nature Charley Beard chose scholarship. His early friends regretted this. With his tireless energy, his almost infinite capacity for making friends, his irresistible eloquence, Charley Beard could have compelled even so stodgy a state as Indiana to send him to Congress, to the Senate, and even higher. That would not have been enough for the flaming spirit of Charley Beard. He meant to talk to the American people, to awaken them to their destiny, to create the public opinion that creates power.

No man has ever achieved his heart's desire. But is there one single one of us among honest and intelligent Americans who has not been influenced in his thinking by Charley Beard?

What Beard means is attested by the significance of the appraisal of the twelve gifted scholars who have joined to create this book. Twelve competent and expert opinions are not enough to give us back our beloved Charley Beard, our truest and therefore our most fallible American. The group of appraisals is so excellent, a reviewer hesitates to appraise them severally. Yet one may be pardoned for singling out Howard K. Beale's "Charles Beard, Historian." Few men have ever presented in a thick volume so complete a picture of a great man.

Charley Beard is dead, and the wild ass of oppression of liberty stamps over his grave. But the light of his spirit still glows in millions of American breasts. By that light we see, somehow, sometime, American civilization will realize itself, an example to those who love liberty, a threat to none who prefer oppression.

ALVIN JOHNSON

Notes on the Critics

MALCOLM COWLEY is completing a new book of critical essays. It will include his *New Republic* articles on the soft-cover book trade. REUEL DENNEY, whose poetry and criticism are appearing with increasing regularity in American periodicals, is on the Sociology faculty of the University of Chicago. ALVIN JOHNSON, whose most recent book is *Pioneer's Progress*, is President Emeritus of the New School for Social Research. He was an editor of *NR* from 1917 to 1923.

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THEATRE

The Magic and the Loss by Julian Funt and *The Girl on the Via Flaminia* by Alfred Hayes are both good productions, and this remark is, in a sense, sufficient commendation, since we are talking about theatre, and since, too, we are talking about a theatre in which many, many productions are not good. It is worth the trip to the Booth to see how Uta Hagen and Robert Preston cope with Mr. Funt's play; it is worth the trip to see a gifted new actor, Charles Taylor. Mr. Hayes' play is directed by Jose Quintero from Circle in the Square. The Circle's choice of plays has not been enterprising; Mr. Quintero's directing sometimes rubs me (for one) the wrong way; and yet I would not abstain from the general vote of confidence which the group has won, nor minimize Mr. Quintero's achievement in imprinting his own personality on his productions.

Giving an accurate picture of middle-class life in Manhattan (a not so accurate picture of a college professor), *The Magic and the Loss* tells how a business-woman comes to be threatened with the simultaneous loss of a son, a lover, and a job. *The Girl on the Via Flaminia,* tells how, in 1944-45, an Italian girl agrees to be the mistress of a GI she does not know, how she is made to feel she is a whore and a traitor, and how she kills herself. In *The Girl,* then, we have a conflict between conqueror and conquered, American and European, the theme, I suppose, being the failure of Americans to understand. In *The Magic,* the conflict is that between modern career woman and her men, also that between modern (i.e. divorced) parents and their children, also . . . but conflict and theme are all too manifold in this play. All I wish to show is that, if these plays are neither smash hits nor entirely satisfactory works of art, it cannot be from any frivolity of intention, any ignorance as to where stories are to be found, or any lack of judgment as to what is important in our world. The material both authors went to is magnificent. We have to feel grateful to them, at the very least, for locating the quarry and going so manfully to work with spade, pick and—yes—dynamite. What fine stone! It is only later that we feel let down—when we see our authors either offering for sale the unhewn rock or, hurriedly, with hammer and chisel, chipping out imitations of the sculpture on the bargain counter at the junk shop.

Raw material or non-art, manipulated material or pseudo-art: there is a good deal of both in *The Magic and the Loss.* For most of the evening, this play is so resolutely literal, we can hardly accept it as a play at all. What we think we are getting is one of those naturalistic documents which proceed, as it were, across a prairie of dreary troubles to the bare rocky mountain of death. Such a play has to end in death because, in the life portrayed, there really is nothing to do but die. True, this kind of drama cannot be profound or even highly entertaining, but it can have the dour virtues of commonsense, consistency, and sincerity. In the last few minutes, however, Mr. Funt changes his mind, *ex*changes it, perhaps I should say, for a commercial substitute, replaces the child in his own cradle with a mechanical doll marked Made in Hollywood and answering with a mindless squeak to the name of Happy Ending. (Terence Rattigan did it—in the American version of *The Deep Blue Sea*—why shouldn't Mr. Funt?) While conveniently offstage, a young boy undergoes a change of life; and, along with his character as presented while *on* stage, turns the plot around: in the New Brunswick depot, he drops his hatred for his mother, picks love instead, and returns as the god from the New Jersey machine. It is curious that an author who for so long doggedly refuses to depart from the literal will plunge of a sudden deep into the improbable. A necessary compensation? A last-minute attempt to get some drama into the story, stemming from a last-minute realization that little literal truths are undramatic? Yet if we swing from the small simple truths to the big simple lies, the big complicated truths in which all real drama is found are ignored. I do not think Mr. Funt *wants* to ignore them; he simply hasn't allowed himself to get at them. He has, of course, achieved more than my brief and oversimplifying analysis discloses. The material is always impressing us with its possibilities. Sometimes it breaks the dam of Mr. Funt's naturalism, and gushes out in a humor and a pathos that are genuine enough. And this is an author full of bright observations about New York life.

In *The Girl on the Via Flaminia,* Mr. Hayes faces some of the same problems as Mr. Funt, notably the same story—should one call it the standard story of modern drama?—the story of a girl being hounded to death. He sees it through: no Happy Ending for him. What his play seems to need is a happy beginning: Mr. Hayes' girl is (so to speak) dead at the start and goes right on being dead for three acts. There is no development, or, if there is, just as it seems to begin, the girl jumps in the Tiber. Mr. Hayes has presented, not a drama, but a situation. It is, let me add, a truly touching situation, and we appreciate the respect and curiosity Mr. Hayes brings to his people—especially the GI lover (played with equal respect and curiosity by Leo Penn).

In denying his protagonist all development, Mr. Hayes presents his leading actress with a practically insoluble problem. I sometimes think our naturalistic dramatists have a wrong approach not only to parts as characters but to parts as roles. We say an actor "builds" a role. The metaphor can be misleading. What an author provides is not a pile of loose bricks which an actor can put together as he chooses. Unless the author has done some building himself, the actor can achieve none of those effects which will make people feel that he is great. If building is the right metaphor, we should say that the actor adds an imposing façade to a building that must already be there.

These plays of the little depressing facts, especially when they are also the play about the hounded girl, are notoriously monotonous. There is no building; just a nicely levelled bit of land. What can an actress do? If she is a virtuoso, she can force variety into a play that lacks it, and we shall enjoy the *tour de force.*

There was something of this about Miss Hagen's extraordinary display in *The Magic.* I gather that Peggy Ashcroft, when she played in *The Deep Blue Sea,* also made you see the mirage of a façade that wasn't there. (I didn't see Miss Hagen in this play; Margaret Sullavan, whom I saw, was . . . monotonous.) For Betty Miller, playing Mr. Hayes' "girl," I have nothing but sympathy. She is not a virtuoso. But bringing to the role considerable talent, tact, and concentration, she has been oddly singled out for criticism in a production that exhibits several vastly inferior performances—even a couple of rank amateurish ones. At this point, it should be firmly said, Miss Miller is a scapegoat for the author.

ERIC BENTLEY

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CORRESPONDENCE

► Attitude Mongering

I should like to know whether to spend five dollars on Jacques Barzun's *God's Country and Mine*. So I read the review (*NR*, April 12.) Did I say read? No. I seem to have caught your reviewer *in flagrant delicto* on a second-convolution cliché with an absolutely shameless *donna angelicata*. Don't ask me to say that again. But could you have someone else write on the book and tell me, first, what is its subject and, second, what Barzun says on this subject?

JEROME CLEGG

Brooklyn, New York

• • •

I should like to comment adversely on one aspect of our liberal journalism which is not, to be sure, confined to liberals; namely, the sort of attitude-mongering one finds—gracefully, indeed—in Mr. Leslie A. Fiedler's review of Jacques Barzun's book *God's Country and Mine*. Mr. Fiedler seems to be exclusively concerned with how we ought to feel about America rather than with the substance of the Barzun book, thereby doing Mr. Barzun the disservice of assuming that he too is mainly an engineer of correct attitudes rather than a dispassionate analyst of the American reality.

Mr. Barzun, of course, is guilty of a certain coyness, for which Mr. Fiedler takes him to task. I'm not arguing the rights and wrongs of this debate, I'm merely expressing my dislike of this kind of self - grooming - in - the - void. Other voices rally us over such matters as: is the younger generation positive or negative, optimistic or pessimistic? Should we be boosters or knockers, antis or anti-antis, and so on? I have no doubt that Mr. Fiedler, for his part, is looking for an attitude which combines modesty with candor, wit with forward-looking optimism. Nor can any thinking man quarrel with this ideal. The question here is not what attitude should we take but rather whether we ought to use the valuable back pages of our liberal journals in grooming our attitudes. . . .

What strikes me most in the alternatives which Mr. Fiedler opposes to his own sane middle course is their exotic unreality. Which of his friends *really* weeps in European cafes? Is Chinese self-deprecation *really* a choice for Mr. Fiedler and his friends? I have no more sympathy than Mr. Fiedler for the writers who make a fetish of non-conformism in the abstract. On the other hand, it is simply a fact that all of America's great writers have been savagely against that penchant for cozy self-congratulation which is one of America's chronic vices. I would suggest that Mr. Fiedler read again Edward Arlington Robinson's devastating poem "Cassandra," or some of Emerson's more violent polemics against the Boston commercial aristocracy. I don't know much about "belongingness" in the abstract. But I do know that a writer *belongs* only insofar as he does solid work, engages with the world on a wide front and submerges himself and his attitudes in the work at hand.

R. W. FLINT

Cambridge, Massachusetts

► State of the Union

That there has been a recession in process for some time has been expressed in various words which avoid a frank acknowledgment and a plain statement of the simple fact, but I think the following excerpt is the cleverest way of saying that business is bad and getting worse that I have seen.

"Oklahomans continue to share the nation's withdrawal from the abnormal prosperity of the Korean War with business activity in the state during February progressing on a downward grade to new rates of normality."

The quoted excerpt is from the March 31, 1954, issue of the Norman (Okla.) *Transcript*.

VIRGLE GLEN WILHITE

Norman, Oklahoma

► The Two Party Controversy

I have read with deep interest the articles by Arthur Schlesinger and Richard Strout on our two-party system. ("Why Eisenhower Won't Succeed" by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *NR April 5*; "Let's Really Have Two Parties" by Richard Strout, *NR, April 12*). . . . Both are ably written by keen and close observers of the American political scene.

Professor Schlesinger says that we have a two-party system under which the Democratic Party tends to become the instrument of a coalition of minority interest groups, while the Republican Party tends to represent a major interest: business and industry.

Mr. Strout describes our two-party system as an illogical, amorphous system of make-believe Tweedledum and Tweedledee parties in which the politicans are more divided over patronage than principles. He thinks that the United States should have two political parties that more consistently reflect the liberal and conservative philosophies.

These two analyses appear to be inconsistent. But I suggest that at bottom they are both right. Schlesinger is right as regards the attitude of the lead of the various interest groups toward our two-party system. Strout is right as regards the attitude of the rank-and-file of the American people. By and large, Republican leaders are conservative, Democratic leaders are liberal. Yet the membership of both parties is drawn from all segments of society. Each is a cross section of the nation. Both parties propose much the same legislative program because both are based upon the middle classes and advocate policies that will advance the welfare of the middle classes. As long as America remains essentially a middle-class country, so long will its political parties be built around the middle classes. The preservation of these classes is the high road to success in politics and to the maintenance of our political equilibrium, as Professor Holcombe has argued. As long as existing economic and social conditions continue, a realignment of political parties in this country along class-conscious lines is not likely to take place, despite its strong appeal to logical minds.

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY

Washington, D. C.

• • •

The *New Republic* is to be applauded for its persistent efforts to make liberals aware of their stake in the debate concerning the party system. . . . But it seems to me that Schlesinger confuses the issue remarkably by making a great point of the proposition that the Republican Party is a single interest party while the Democratic Party is pluralist. Schlesinger's use of the term pluralism does violence to contemporary usage. Pluralism in the recent literature of politics refers to the proliferation of pressure groups and pressure politics which in the opinion of some theorists makes party government impossible. To speak bluntly, the pressure system is in fact so

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closely identified with the business community and the Republican Party that recent pluralist theories can probably be described most accurately as the modern Republican version of the conservative attack on the idea of party government. Schlesinger's statement makes the whole argument stand on its head. The pluralist theory is a Republican theory and we ought to let the Republicans keep it.

E. E. SCHATTSCHNEIDER
Middletown, Connecticut

► Britain's Dollar Problem

Robert Lekachman was right in questioning some of Roy Harrod's interpretations in *The Dollar* (*NR*, April 19). Britain has, in fact, both re-equipped her industry and increased her exports substantially (75 percent). The re-equipment has been slower than planned in 1948. The steel plan has been cut down considerably. But British industries, especially engineering, chemicals, and steel, have more and better equipment than before the War. With several years start on her principal competitors, Germany and Japan, Britain should be able to retain most of her foreign markets.

According to the UN's Economic Commission for Europe, Britain has been more successful than other European countries in reducing dollar imports. Half the American-type cotton used in Britain textile mills is imported from British colonies in Africa and from the Near East. Tobacco is also obtained in Africa. Some Kentucky tobacco auctioneers are singing their weird chants in Rhodesia. Meanwhile, our farmers' incomes decline and their crops pile up in our warehouses. A Senate committee is studying ways to promote American exports. Who's vulnerable now?

But Harrod is right in implying that the United States should recognize its responsibilities. As Cripps said in 1948, Britain alone can not solve the dollar shortage. The Commonwealth Conference of 1952 offered to co-operate with the United States in dealing with the world-wide economic crisis that is developing. Since even the half-way measures suggested by the Randall Commission are unlikely to be approved by Congress, Britain must continue to restrict dollar imports and must increase her economic co-operation with the Continent and the Sterling Area. The British people will not accept a lower standard of living without a struggle. Emigration might be a solution for a small number. But where would any considerable number go? The Dominions no longer welcome large numbers of immigrants. Africa has no more room for white men. The United States has four million unemployed.

WILLIAM C. MALLALIEU
University of Louisville

► Can We Rely on Germany?

European Union so ardently advocated by Mr. James King (*NR*, April 19) cannot be achieved in the genuine sense so long as it is American policy (in the words of your correspondent Frank Gorrell) "to treat the Germans as though they won the Second World War." . . . Mr. King concludes his support for a remilitarized Germany albeit within the framework of the EDC, with these words: "Let us be candid, the United States is in no mood to risk the loss of Germany." However, Mr. King does not consider the risk of "losing Europe" through our German policy. Let us not forget that a remilitarized, resurgent Germany will hardly be the kind of country that will necessarily act as a bulwark against the Communist East under all conditions. . . . It was Chancellor Adenauer himself who on July 7, 1953 told the Frankfurter *Allegemeine Zeitung* that a united pacified Germany, reconciled with Russia, ought to be a vital aim of Russian politics. The Chancellor then went on to say:

> Already today the states of the European Schuman Plan have formed a market of 157 million people. Thus, these countries are for the Russian economy a highly interesting trading partner. The German and Russian economies once before complemented each other in a magnificent way. The economy of an integrated Europe including Germany could offer even more. The greater the economic meshing (between Western Europe and Russia), the greater the political security.

The role of Germany in an integrated Europe as envisaged by Chancellor Adenauer was described by the well-known New York *Times* foreign affairs expert James Reston on April 26, 1950. "It is now recognized in official quarters," Mr. Reston reported, "that the potential economic and military power of Western Germany is so great that it is likely to dominate any purely Western European economic or military organization."

DR. ALBERT SIMARD
New York City

BANDWAGON

Cole said Hollyday, past president of the American Mortgage Bankers' Assn., had been "aware" of the alleged misconduct in his agency "and did not act." He called Hollyday "a good Christian gentleman." — *Nevada State Journal, April, 1954.*

William Gaines, president of the Entertaining Comics Group, which prints 2,000,000 comic books a month with a gross sale of $80,000 and a net profit of $4,000, added that he opposed any censorship and recognized only a limit of "good taste."

He was asked by Senator Estes Kefauver, Democrat of Tennessee, if he considered in "good taste" the cover of the May 22 issue of Shock Suspenstories, which depicted an ax-wielding man holding aloft the severed head of a blond woman. Mr. Gaines replied:

"Yes, I do—for the cover of a horror comic. I think it would be bad taste if he were holding the head a little higher so the neck would show with the blood dripping from it."—*New York Times, April 22, 1954.*

One of the most damning pieces of information about Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, in the view of California investigators responsible for many of the current charges against him, was that he was classified in secret Communist party communications as unsympathetic to Communism.

This, a state legislative committee decided, was fairly conclusive evidence that Dr. Oppenheimer not only was sympathetic to Communism, but was considered by the Communists to be a "potential traitor."—*New York Times, April 14, 1954.*

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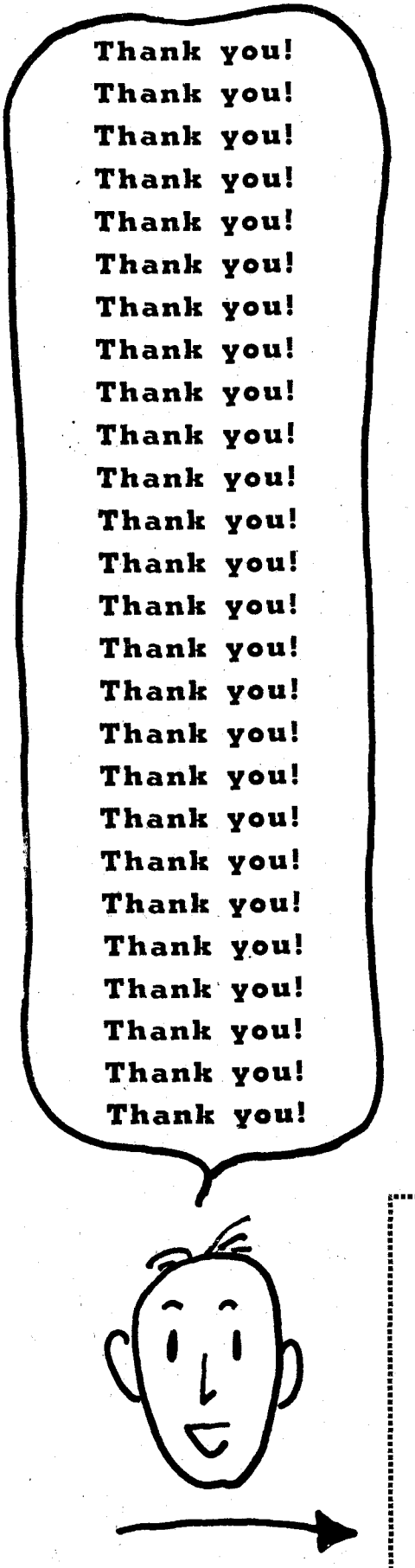

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